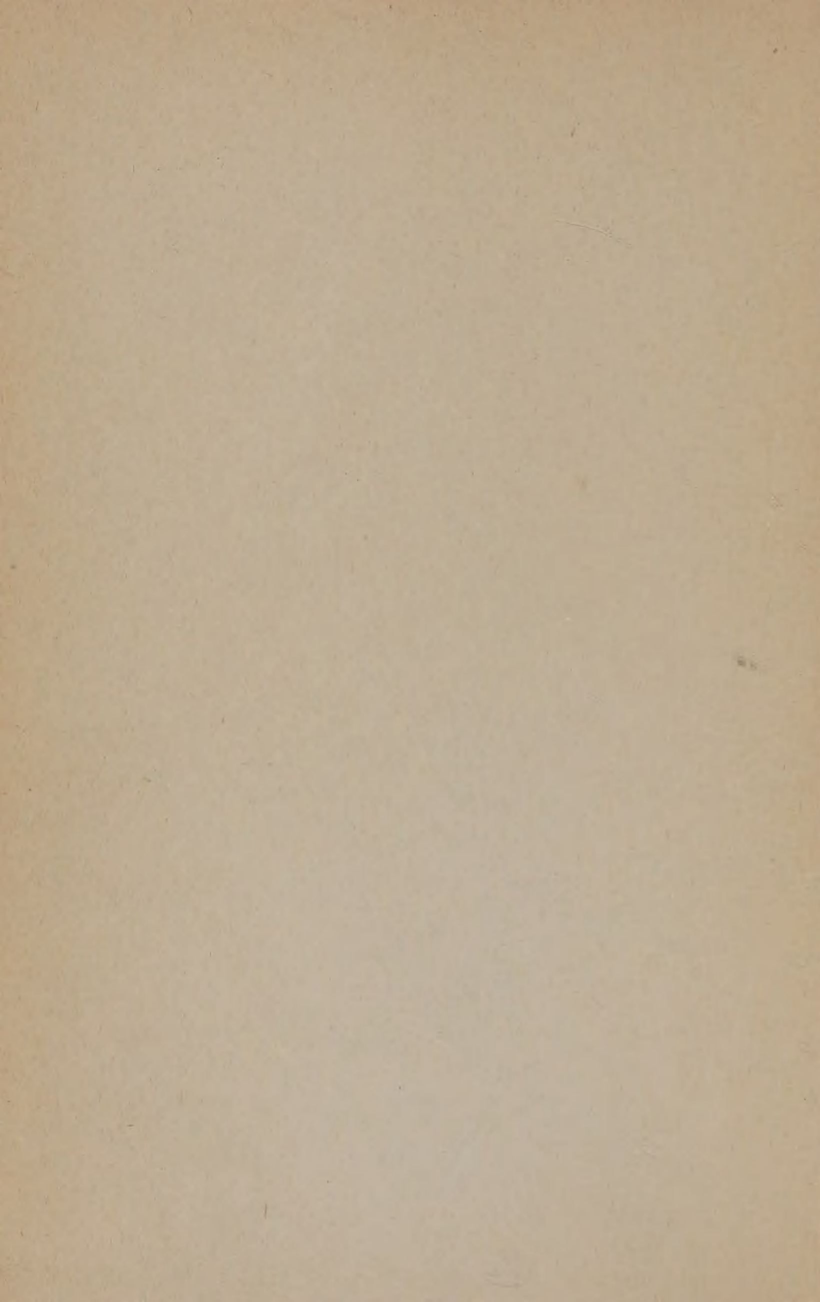
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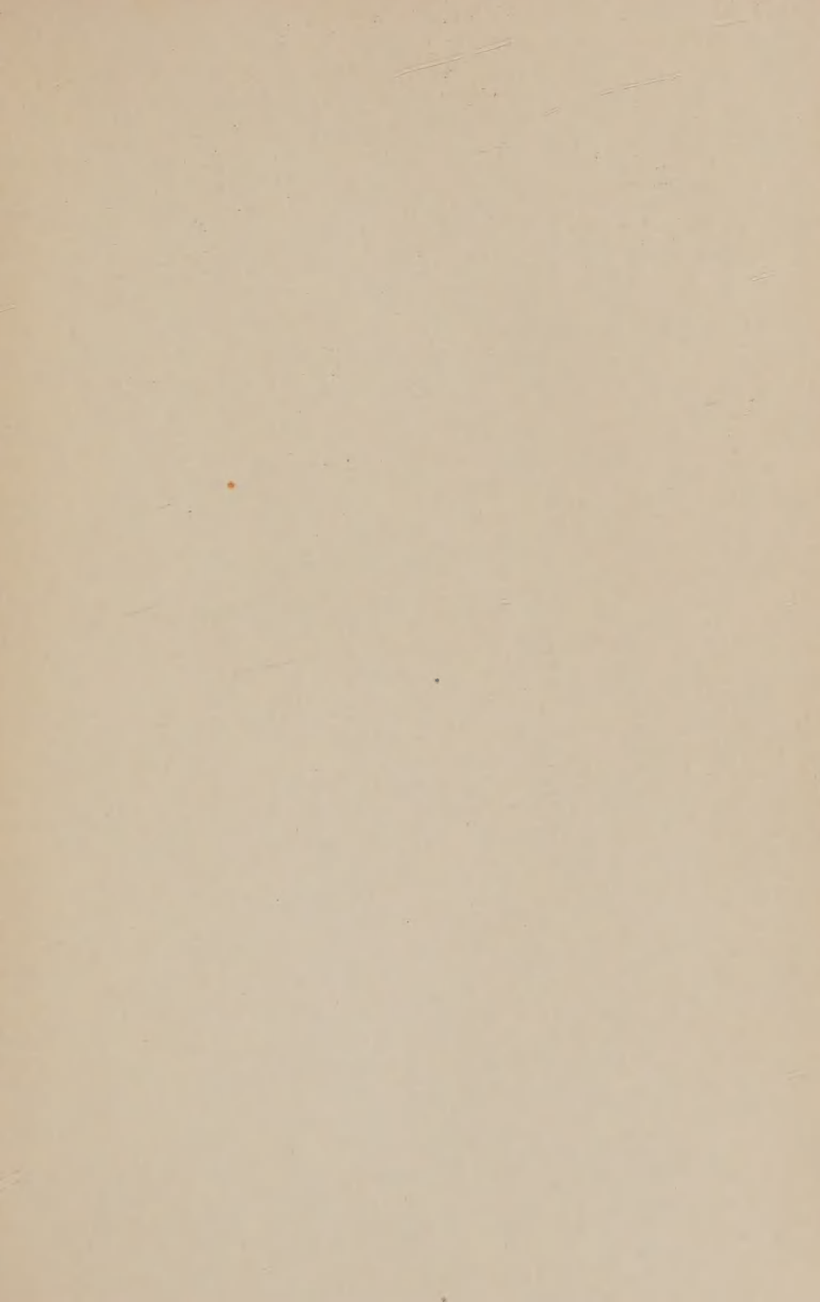


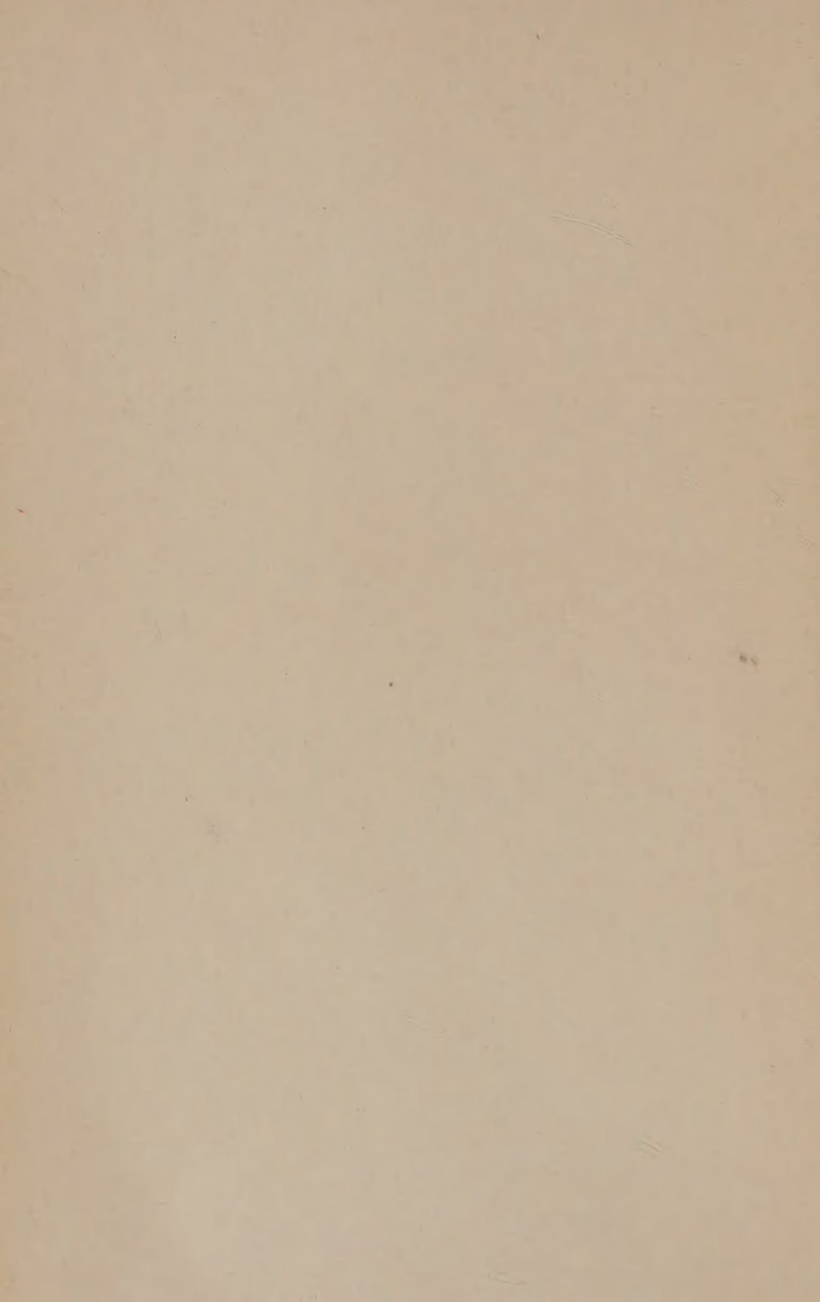
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PALESTINE EXPLORATION

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The Ely Lectures for 1903

BY

FREDERICK JONES BLISS, Ph.D.

Author of

"A Mound of Many Cities," "Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894–1897," etc.

NEW YORK
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1906

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KEY-NOTE

"It was like communing with these holy men themselves to visit the places where their feet had trod, and where many of them had held converse with the Most High." So muses Robinson, after following in the footsteps of the Patriarchs and Prophets in an excursion to the north of Jerusalem.

Here is an old, old theme, linking together the Pilgrims to Palestine; through all time the same—no matter to what key it be attuned, no matter with what variations it be expressed. Sung by high-born Dame from the West, haughty Mohammedan, fierce Crusader, poor Jewish Exile, ponderous Scholastic, staid Puritan—yes, by modern impressionist: Silvia, Nasîr, Saewulf, Rabbi Parchi, Quaresmio, Robinson, Pierre Loti—whatever may have been your song before you came; whatever it may be when you return home; while you are here, this theme, pulsating in the very atmosphere, sings itself into your heart, sing itself how it may on your lips.

331879



INTRODUCTION

This volume presents the Lectures, delivered before the Union Theological Seminary in 1903 on the Ely Foundation, with considerable amplification and one modification. Lecture VII of the given course was entitled "Calvary and the Tomb of Christ." For two reasons this title disappears, though part of the substance of the Lecture has been incorporated, for illustrative purposes, in Lecture V and elsewhere in the volume. On preparing the material for publication the lecturer realized that in a sketch, treating in a broad way of the development of Palestine Exploration, the elaboration of one particular feature, while others of equal importance were treated only generally, would disturb the symmetry of the whole. In the second place, a far more exhaustive treatment of this subject, begun indeed before the lecture was delivered, has been recently completed by Sir Charles Wilson. As neither Sir Charles nor the lecturer had any personal views to promulgate, the latter is more than content, for the present, at least, to leave the presentation of facts in such capable hands. Until new discoveries furnish fresh data, there is nothing to add to Sir Charles's unbiassed and scholarly work.

I accepted the offer made me by the Directors of the Union Theological Seminary to lecture on the subject of Exploration with a grateful feeling that it

was in a certain sense appropriate. It gave me the opportunity to show that the principles of scholarship taught in this Seminary are available to a graduate who has taken up the work of archæology, as well as to the more normal graduates who have entered the ministry. The lectures, indeed, deal only incidentally and briefly with my own explorations, but whatever success I may have had is due to my following out the methods of investigation imparted by a faculty whose motto is: The Truth and nothing but the Truth. From a Theological Lecture-room to the Digger's camp seems to be a far cry, but in reality it is not so. All knowledge is correlated. When in the course of my Jerusalem excavations I reached a confused series of ancient walls, at the end of a long tunnel or at the side of a huge pit, I summoned to my aid, in determining the comparative ages of different portions of the masonry, the methods employed at Union in discussing the composite authorship of the Pentateuch, or the inter-chronological relations of the Synoptists. For the Elohist, the Yahwist, the Priestly Narrator and the Redactor, read Soloman, John Hyrcanus, Herod, and Hadrian, and a problem of Biblical criticism finds its exact analogy in a study of ancient walls which both superimpose and interpenetrate.

The scope of this volume is indicated by the title. Here is no compendium of the results of Palestine Exploration. In tracing its development we shall follow the progress made in the art of identifying sites; for lists of sites identified the reader must look elsewhere. We shall note the man in whom first

began to wake the antiquarian spirit; detailed descriptions of the monuments themselves are wanting here. The shifting point of view of travellers from age to age; the displacement of the Classic geographer by the credulous pilgrim; the gradual evolution of the pilgrim into the man of science—these are some of the themes we have attempted to illustrate.[1] As visitors to the Holy Land have so largely concentrated their attention on Palestine proper, that name alone appears in the title, but we shall touch also on the explorers of Syria.

To those acquainted with Röhricht's Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestina, with its 3,515 names of writers on the Holy Land, from A.D. 333 to 1878—writers who were for the most part actual travellers—we need not say that we have attempted no comprehensive bibliography.[2] In a sense our little volume is itself an essay toward an eclectic and comparative bibliography. For brief critical estimates of Works on Palestine we may recommend the lists of Ritter, Robinson, Tobler, Munk, etc. It may be of interest to the American reader to know how rich his

[1] As geography is treated only in a secondary manner—that is, in illustration of the varying range of travel, and of the varying attitude toward the subject of Identification—no map is inserted.

[2] See also Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande von R. Röhricht. Neue Ausgabe, Innsbruck, 1900. This contains lists compiled from every available source, of all German Pilgrims known to have visited the Holy Land from 1300 to 1699, together with the lists of the works of those who wrote, sketches of the important routes, names of places visited, etc. For critical editions of early texts the reader is referred to the publications of the Société de l'Orient Latin, as well as to others mentioned in succeeding footnotes.

country is in the literature of Palestine. I had supposed that I could not complete this work without a visit to England and Europe, but scattered among our various libraries I have found every book that I have sought except Michel Nau's "Voyage nouveau de la Terre Sainte." Robinson's Palestinian library was bought *en bloc* by his Alma Mater, Hamilton College, and from it I have had the loan of two works — the "Voyages" of D'Arvieux and the "Voyage de la Terre Sainte" of Doubdan, neither of which I could find elsewhere. I would beg to offer hearty thanks for especial assistance from three Librarians—Dr. Gillett of Union Theological Seminary, Dr. Morris Jastrow of the University of Pennsylvania, and Mr. W. I. Fletcher of Amherst College. I have also consulted books belonging to Columbia, Harvard, Yale, the New York Public Library, the Peabody Library and the Library of Congress.

Though the following lectures take for granted a general knowledge of Syria and Palestine, it may be well here to give a fillip to the reader's memory. Used in a broad sense the term Syria means the narrow strip of land at the east end of the Mediterranean, about 400 miles long and ranging in breadth from 70 to 100 miles. It is bounded on the north by the Taurus Mountains; on the west by the Sea, and on the east and south by the Desert. Though thus isolated by nature, Syria has been the highroad throughout all the ages between Asia and Africa. But her history is more strongly stamped by this natural seclusion than by her incidental touch with the world. Conquered and held at various times by

Egyptians, Mesopotamians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Franks and Turks, she has always, even if in a secondary-sense, maintained a degree of home-rule. Palestine is that part of larger Syria lying south of the river Litany—the ancient Leontes—which enters the sea between Sidon and Tyre. In contradistinction to Palestine, Syria may be said to extend from the Litany northward to the Taurus Mountains. From a physical point of view, Palestine may be divided into four belts running north and south—the maritime plain which merges into the low hills of the Shephelah, the rocky mountains of Judea and Samaria, the deep cleft of the Ghor or Jordan valley, and the high table-land rising abruptly beyond the river, rent with gorges and crossed by ranges of hills. In Syria proper we find the same four belts in a modified form. The maritime plain is in places effaced by the encroachment of the Lebanon; this range with its continuation in the Nuseirîyeh Mountains is itself the prolongation of the Central Palestinian System; the place of the Jordan Cleft is taken, at first by the lofty valley of the Buka'a and farther north by the valley of the Orontes, lower than the Buka'a but lofty in comparison with the sub-Mediterranean level of the Ghor. Beyond the Anti-Libanus, the eastern boundary of the Buka'a, and itself a continuation of Mt. Hermon, we find again a broad table-land diversified by crossing ranges.

Dr. Post, who in his botanical quests has travelled extensively in the land, has well said: "Syria and Palestine present, in a geographical area of say 50,000 (square) miles, more diversities and anomalies

than any equal territory of the globe."[1] I may add that to realize these diversities and anomalies one has to travel but a few hours. The depression of the Jordan valley furnishes the most violent contrasts. Leaving es-Salt early on an April morning, I rode at first through the bracing air across the richly wooded land of Gilead, pierced with grassy glades, gay with flowers, gladdened by singing brooks. Soon after noon I was crouching under a bush on the banks of the Jordan, seeking a short respite from the furnace heat before attempting the ride to Jericho across the parched and arid plain. The reverse of this experience may be had by any winter traveller who can leave, if he will, the sleet and snow of Jerusalem, and a few hours later listen to the notes of tropical birds, nestling in the gardens about Elisha's fountain, or bathe in the balmy waters of the Dead Sea, 1,300 feet below the Mediterranean level. The Sea of Galilee is 680 feet below sea-level, and Hermon towers some 10,000 feet above it, and yet, as the crow flies, the distance between lake and mountain is only thirty miles.

Equally striking are the geological features of the land. The limestone, which constitutes the greater part of the mountain chains, is in the Lebanon interpenetrated with layers of sandstone. In the intense and glorifying light that comes from the sun a half hour before its setting, the contrast between the gray limestone, weathered into fantastic shapes of tower and castle, of monstrous plants and antidiluvian creatures, and the brilliant red sandstone,

[1] Q. S. 1890. p. 99.

stamped with the ink-black shadows of the green pines, is strange and startling. Syria makes little mystery of its geology. Much of it may be studied on horseback. But it has its reserves. From the lower ranges of the Lebanon may be excavated a wealth of fossil fish caught in the very act of swimming by some mighty upheaval of nature. Iron ore is found in very large quantities, although at the present day the art of mining it has fallen practically into disuse.

Turning to Eastern Palestine, we note that the ancient towns of the Hauran are built of the local black basalt, so hard and indestructible that the modern inhabitants continue in some cases to live in the dwellings of their remote ancestors. To the northeast of the Hauran is the lava region of the Leja, roughly speaking twenty miles square, whose strangely undulating surface has been described as a tempest in stone. In the peninsula of Sinai, which, though not the Holy Land, is the Beulah land from which the Israelites surveyed in hope the country of their longings, are found mountains of granite, so solid and unbroken as to appear to be Titanic monoliths. But the enumeration of these rocky features must not cause us to forget the unique fertility of the land. Not only are abundant crops of wheat and barley reaped from the plains of Philistia, Galilee, Coele-Syria, Hauran, and Northern Syria, but the hill-sides have been so terraced and tilled that the very stones produce fatness. I speak in no metaphor. I have seen a man ploughing a steep slope whose surface showed no sign of soil between

the stones. From this field of barrenness he was wont to reap a sure if scanty harvest. As to the flora in general our chief expert, Dr. Post, says it is the richest of any country of its size in the world. To the inexhaustible fertility of the ground is added an adequate water supply. The thirsty traveller riding in the summer's heat is comforted by the sight and sound of rivers bursting full-grown from among the rocks. Little rain falls between May and October, but so extensive is the rude system of irrigation that during the summer much of the water flowing in the many streams of the land never reaches the sea. The whole country is mined with ancient cisterns. Jerusalem now depends for its main water supply upon similar reservoirs.

We may now indicate in barest outline the extraordinary historical vicissitudes of Syria and Palestine which have so conditioned their exploration. Before the invasion of Israel from Egypt the data are few and unsatisfactory. We have still much to learn concerning the local and petty monarchies brought under the suzerainty of the Egyptian Kings of the eighteenth dynasty to understand their true origin, their ethnic affinities, their relations to the mysterious Hittites of the North. With the account of the Hebrew conquests history begins to have a firmer basis. The establishment of the Jewish kingdom, its subsequent division, the growing influence of Assyria, the scattering of the tribes in Exile, the return of the Jews to their native land, still held by their Persian masters—these points must be at the tip of the tongue of every Sunday-school scholar, not-

withstanding the alarmists who are nowadays deploring the decay of Biblical knowledge. Less fully appreciated is the power of the Seleucidan Kingdom, bringing in Greek influences against which the Maccabees made their long and partially successful stand. With the entry of the Romans and the subsequent reign of that semi-independent ruler, Herod the Great, the land entered into a new phase. Military roads were extended through its length and breadth; splendid cities, whose ruins to-day are still rich in inscriptions, sprang up east of the Jordan; the towns of Western Palestine were rebuilt with a magnificence they had never had before. But the old spirit of Jewish independence was still burning and required for its extinction a storm of cataclysmic violence. In the year 70 A.D., only 133 years after Pompey besieged Jerusalem, Titus destroyed the city and temple after a siege unparalleled in history for its horrors. Even this storm left some embers smouldering. These Bar Chocheba fanned into flames which were not finally extinguished until he had kept the Romans fighting for two years near Jerusalem. In 135 A.D. Hadrian built, on the ruins left by Titus, a Roman city under the name of Aelia Capitolina. The last act of the Jewish drama had closed. When again the curtain rose it was upon a totally new scene. The Nazarene had conquered. The Holy Land was under the sway of a Christian Emperor. Churches began to be erected from Dan to Beersheba. Jerusalem became the centre of pilgrimages which have not ceased at the present day. In following the story of these pilgrimages and their gradual devel-

opment into expeditions in which a scientific interest mingles with and sometimes dominates the religious motive, we shall touch incidentally upon the passing of the land from Christian to Moslem hands, upon the brief reversion to Christian rule under the Crusaders, upon the loss of the Latin Kingdom, and upon the establishment of that Turkish rule under the Othman dynasty which still controls the Holy Land, and which will continue to control it until some other Power can show better credentials for the maintenance of order among its many conflicting interests.

Before beginning my story of Palestine Exploration, which will involve the mention of many names, I must warn the reader that he will not find among these that of the Ideal Explorer. Robinson in field work and Petrie in excavation come near the mark, but they do not reach it. I hasten to add that the Ideal Explorer is as difficult of realization as the Ideal Man. He may possibly one day be realized in the discoverer of the North Pole, where the mission —than which none is more arduous—is one of magnificent simplicity; but I fear he will never turn up in Palestine. Our sketch of the Holy Land will have been of little avail if it has failed to show that its ideal explorer must combine the qualities of a geographer, a geologist, a naturalist, an architect, an archæologist, an ethnologist, an historian, an epigraphist, a Biblical student, a painter, a mystic, and a poet. If he is an excavator as well he must also include the attainments of an engineer and a miner. But first and foremost he must be a man of common-sense, who is your only real diplomatist.

Tact, hitting the mark in one's dealings with men, hitting the mark in dealing with one's own observations, in building theories upon these—this is the one thing needful. Every explorer who has approximated perfection has travelled along this road. All who have been guided by common-sense have furnished lasting contributions to the mass of correct knowledge. Our present knowledge of Palestine we may liken to a mosaic of colored tesseræ, which, though broken here and there, yet shows broad patterns and many curious details. Scattered in the surrounding *débris*, and sometimes buried by this, are the little cubes waiting to be found and fitted into their proper place. For the parts of the mosaic now complete we have to thank the Explorers of the Past, for the filling in of the *lacunæ* we look to the Explorers of the Future.

October, 1905.

NOTE.—Since this book went to press, exploration has met a great loss in the death of Sir Charles Wilson, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund. His personal experience in the exploration of the Holy Land, his minute knowledge of the historical references to the country, and, above all, the scientific spirit with which he approached all questions, fitted him preëminently for this position.



CONTENTS



PALESTINE EXPLORATION

LECTURE I

THE DAWN OF EXPLORATION

The Century Dictionary defines Exploration as: "The act of exploring; search, examination or investigation, especially for the purpose of discovery: specifically, the investigation of an unknown country or part of the earth." Linking the word recovery to discovery, and substituting the term "partly forgotten and ruined country" for "unknown country," we may so amend this definition that it will apply more closely to the exploration of the lands with a great historic past—Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, Greece, the Roman territories, Syria and Palestine. The problem in exploring these countries is primarily that of identification. Given a series of historical references to a certain land, the aim is to find confirmation of these by investigation on the spot. Recovery here precedes discovery both logically and actually, if by recovery we mean the bringing again to light a site or monument lost,

but known to have existed; and by discovery the adding to our knowledge of facts unknown to us before.

The proportion which recovery may bear to discovery in a given land, depends upon the extent and availability of the historical authorities. The literature which has come down from the Greeks and Romans is not only large in bulk but is written in languages which have never been forgotten; and, in the exploration of their lands, recovery may be said to have held the scale against discovery. Long chapters of Egyptian history were inscribed on monuments that have never been lost, others upon monuments subsequently buried in the sand; but, buried or unburied, they all were inscribed in characters which lost their meaning. Till near the beginning of the nineteenth century they excited no feeling but dumb wonder. Then, indeed, the Rosetta stone unlocked a library which has only begun to be studied. In Egypt, thus, discovery and recovery so interpenetrate, are so interdependent, that the distinction between them cannot be sharply drawn. The same story may, with local variations, be told of Babylonia and Assyria. In Palestine, however, up to the present time, recovery has greatly outbalanced discovery, and the line of demarcation between them is clear. To produce this result two causes have worked together. In the first place, as the great geographer Ritter has pointed out, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments have furnished information in regard to this land "to an extent unparalleled in any other country of the

globe."[1] Secondly, the impelling purpose of the vast majority of travellers to Palestine, from the time of Constantine to the present day, has been a desire there to find confirmation, illustration and expansion of the facts presented by the Bible. Few, indeed, are the exceptions. Even to the Arab geographers the land of the Patriarchs, of David and Solomon, of "our Lord 'Isa," as the Moslems call Jesus, had a peculiar sanctity. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which saw the development of true scientific exploration, we may find the names of a few men whose interest in the Scriptures was secondary, but these names are, as a rule, connected with very specialized forms of research. Renan's great mission to Phœnicia, it is true, concerned itself chiefly with pagan remains, but his portly volume describing the excavations is not so widely known as his "Life of Jesus," which was a direct result of his visit, and which, whatever may be its historical value, presents a true and glowing picture of the Holy Land. The Palestine Exploration Fund calls itself "A Society for the accurate and systematic investigation of the archæology, the topography, the geology, and physical geography, the manners and customs of the Holy Land, for Biblical illustration." Its *raison d'être* is given by the last phrase. Biblical illustration is the explicitly declared aim of the Society, though incidentally its work has covered a wider field. Thus far, we repeat, in the exploration of Palestine

[1] The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula, by Carl Ritter. (See Translation by Gage, vol. ii, p. 27.)

recovery has outbalanced discovery. But thanks especially to our own Robinson and to the Palestine Exploration Fund, the former work has now advanced toward completion. Recent excavations, however, have furnished high hopes for extensive discoveries in the future, discoveries that will enable us to fill in many blank places of Scriptural history.

As the Bible is the vast store-house from which all travellers to Syria and Palestine have primarily derived the knowledge which they seek to confirm, before examining their accounts, we are bound to consider the scope and character of this information, although in the main it is furnished by writers who, as natives of the lands they describe, do not fall under the category of explorers. In scope it covers almost every field—geography, the physical aspects of the country, ethnology, history, religious institutions, folk-lore. The Scriptural material, then, is abundant. The character of the information, however, varies with the subject treated. The religious institutions have come down to us in a systematic form, whatever the date and value of the final systematization may be; the same is true in a general way of the historical portions. But the references to geography, ethnology and folk-lore are only incidental to the narrative, are interwoven with the narrative for purposes of illustration and illumination. Excellent and detailed accounts of the habits and customs of the Hebrews have often been gathered from the Bible, but the work is necessarily one of collation and of compilation. This

follows not only from the fact that the Bible is a collection of diverse books, written by diverse authors, at diverse periods, but from the nature of each book itself and the point of view of its author, which is never scientific, always eminently practical. Again, as touching geography, "the contents of the biblical books," to quote Ritter's happy expression, "are not to be considered as intentionally or directly geographical; they are so, as a general rule, only in a secondary sense." Tabulated lists of cities and descriptions of boundary-lines may be found, but we search vainly for a description of the land as a whole more definite than the statement that it was a land flowing with milk and honey. Still, by piecing together the almost countless references scattered through the histories—references to cities and towns, to lakes and rivers, to plains and mountains, to military movements—a careful reader, relying on no other source, might form a general idea of the country which would be extraordinarily accurate.

We must emphasize the word general. Should our reader attempt to place his results on a map, there would be many curious *lacunæ*. Take, for example, the main river of Palestine, the Jordan. That it ran through nearly the whole length of the land is proved by the statements that it served as the eastern boundary of the tribes from Naphtali on the north to Benjamin on the south.[1] Its magnitude is shown by the implication in the narrative, that without miraculous intervention the Israelitish

[1] Josh. 19, 34; 18, 20.

host could not have crossed it near Jericho, as well as by the statements that fords occur elsewhere, and that it overflows its banks at the time of harvest.[1] Its topographical relations to Gilead and Bashan are clearly indicated.[2] Its situation in a plain is emphasized frequently.[3] The phrases "the Salt Sea even unto the end of Jordan," "the Sea at the uttermost part of Jordan," and "the Salt Sea at the south end of Jordan" point to its final absorption.[4] That it flows through the Sea of Galilee—the Sea of Chinnereth of the Old Testament—might be fairly inferred by collating several passages which elucidate the boundaries of the tribes.[5] But for any indication of its course through the Waters of Merom (the Lake of Huleh), for any mention of its main sources in the copious fountains at Tell-el-Kady and Banias, or its more distant source at the head of the Hasbany River, we look in vain. This somewhat lengthy example will serve to indicate the limitations of a purely Biblical geography not supplemented by exploration.

The nature of Scriptural information respecting the position of cities has an important bearing on questions of identification. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that geographical science did not develop the method of fixing a place by latitude and longitude till the second century of the Christian era, but we must here emphasize the paucity and indefiniteness of the Scriptural references to distance

[1] Josh. 3, 13–15; Judg. 3, 28.
[2] Josh. 17, 5.
[3] Gen. 13, 10; I Kings 7, 46, etc.
[4] Josh. 15, 5; 18, 19.
[5] Deut. 3, 17; Josh. 19, 22 and 34.

and direction. In the Old Testament narratives it is natural to find the chief towns referred to simply by name, as places known to the Hebrew reader. The foreign reader must deduce the mutual relation of places from incidental references, such as the statement that in going from one town to another in one day such and such towns are passed on the way. Deductions like these, however, are only general. In the tabulated lists, where we might legitimately expect more precision, we find, as a rule, merely groups of the towns in a given district. The description of the tribe-boundaries indeed often gives the general direction of one place from another, but without the distance. This topographical indefiniteness is well illustrated by the difficulty in identifying cities once of prime importance, when the ancient name is not undisputedly extant at some site known to the people of the land to-day. The archæological science of a century has failed to locate, without doubt, either Gath or Megiddo—cities which played great rôles in Jewish history. Our excavations at Tell-es-Safi have furnished a high probability that this is the site of Gath. But high probability is not certainty. The majority of experts have placed Megiddo at Lejjûn, or at the adjacent Tell-el-Mutasellim; but Conder thinks he finds a survival of the name at Mujeddâ', some eighteen miles to the southeast at the foot of Mt. Gilboa. It is to be hoped that the German excavations now proceeding at Tell-el-Mutasellim will throw new light on the identification.

This matter may be illustrated even more closely.

It may be almost invariably assumed when experts in theology, history, archæology or in fact any science, differ among themselves fundamentally in their interpretations of given data that these data are either insufficient or indefinite, or more probably both. Had the Old Testament references to the divisions of Jerusalem been clear, then the exegetes would never have fallen into two parties, one placing Zion on the Eastern or Temple Hill, the other on the Western Hill. Had the New Testament writers shown more precision in locating Golgotha and the Tomb, then one of the fiercest controversies in connection with the Holy City would never have raged. The only actual fact relating to the place of crucifixion which a strict exegesis can find in the Biblical narratives is that it was situated somewhere outside the city near a new rock-cut sepulchre. It may also be legitimately inferred that it was near a public highway. But there is nothing to show whether it was north, south, east or west of the city. There is nothing to show whether Golgotha, the Place of the Skull, was on a hill or in a valley. There is no explanation why it was so called.[1]

We may now run rapidly over the chief passages in the Old Testament which have, to a certain

[1] Sir Charles Wilson, who states and criticises the various theories impartially, sums up as follows: "The conclusion which seems to follow from the above discussion is that Golgotha derived its name from a local legend which connected it with a skull, possibly that of Adam, as all the early Christian fathers who mention the subject assert. And the theories which identify 'the Place of a Skull' with a public place of execution, or with a spot, whether on an eminence or not, which resembled a Skull, are of later growth and probably of Western origin." (Q. S. 1902, p. 151.)

extent, a direct topographical character.[1] In a treatment like the present, which aims to illustrate, in a general way, the methods of the Hebrews in handling their geographical knowledge, we may legitimately take these statements at their face value, without entering into questions of strict historicity, date and composite authorship. I may remark, in passing, that the important bearing which Biblical criticism has had upon topographical detail has been pointed out by George Adam Smith in the Preface to his "Historical Geography of the Holy Land."

The alleged earlier references are strictly germane to our subject, as they deal mainly with the true exploration of Palestine—with the investigation of a comparatively unknown land by a conquering race and the division thereof among its tribes. Passing over the famous account of the raid of Abram against Chedorlaomer and the allied kings, a passage that concerns ethnology rather than geography, we find in Numbers 13, the record of a genuine exploration—the expedition which Moses is said to have despatched from Kadesh Barnea, where the Israelites were encamped, to spy out the land. We have a list of the twelve explorers, the admirable and exhaustive programme laid down for them by Moses, and the length of duration of the campaign—forty days. But, unfortunately, their report reaches us in an abbreviated form. We learn merely that the limit

[1] The chief systematic topographical references in the New Testament are concerned with St. Paul's missionary journeys, which took him largely out of Syria and Palestine.

of their journey was the entering in of Hamath, at the northern end of the plain of Cœle-Syria, between the Lebanons; that they visited Hebron and the Vale of Eschol, a specimen of whose grapes they brought back; that the land was rich in natural products, but that the cities were formidable by reason of their fortifications. No list of these cities is preserved, though the names of the tribes or races dwelling in the various districts are enumerated.

The geographical value of the list of the forty-two stations of the Israelites in their journey from Rameses to Sinai and from Sinai to the plains of Moab[1] may be gathered from Dr. Trumbull's conclusion to the section of his "Kadesh Barnea," entitled "The Time between the Stations." "In short, everything combines to show that the mention of two stations in juxtaposition in the record of the Israelites' journeyings gives no indication of the nearness of these stations to each other; gives no reason for supposing that they are only a day's distance apart. Moreover, it is evident that in some cases such nearness is an impossibility."[2]

According to the Book of Numbers, before the Israelites crossed the Jordan the limits of the land which they were to possess were given to them with considerable geographical precision, and, according to Deuteronomy, its main physical divisions were enumerated. The boundaries of the territories of the Kings of the Amorites, east of the Jordan, are also described.[3] But for the great wealth of geo-

[1] Numbers, chap. 33. [2] P. 147.

[3] Numbers, chap. 34. Deut. 1, 6–7; 4, 47–49.

graphical information we must turn to the Book of Joshua. If the Bible is a geographical storehouse, then this Book is its inner chamber of jewels. Here we find the topographical results of the trans-Jordanic conquests; here we find the list of the thirty-one Royal Cities, whose kings were overcome, enumerated in a somewhat loose order from south to north; here is a list of places still to be conquered; here we may note the names and location of the towns set apart to be cities of refuge; here are the cities, scattered through the country, assigned to the Levites, who had no especial territory; and here, most important of all, are the boundaries of the tribes, east and west of the Jordan.[1] The explicitness and detail with which these boundaries are laid down, especially in the case of Judah and Benjamin, could have left no mooted point for the inhabitants of the country, to whom every landmark mentioned, every town, village, well or fountain, was well known. For them the description was a chain with all its links complete. But for us it is a problem in Algebra full of unknown quantities. In resolving the relations between a lost site and those which have been preserved we have to deal with many equations. As we have stated before, the difficulty of the problem arises from the absence of distances and the indefiniteness in the indication of direction.

After the Book of Joshua, the passages explicitly dealing with topography are less frequent.

[1] Joshua 12, 1–6 and 7–24; 13, 2–6; 20, 7–8 (cf. chap. 21 and I Chron. 6, 54–81); and chaps. 13–19 inclusive.

We may merely note the most important. In the Book of Judges we find mention of the towns from which the original inhabitants were not driven out.[1] In First Chronicles we have a list of David's military companions with their habitat.[2] In First Kings are the divisions of the country presided over by Solomon's twelve officers of the Commissariat, including the chief cities of each district.[3] In Second Chronicles are enumerated the cities of Judah fortified by Rehoboam.[4] In Nehemiah we find the names of the cities of Judah and Benjamin, reinhabited after the Exile.[5] As bearing directly upon the topography of Jerusalem we must note the accounts of the rebuilding of its walls by Nehemiah, and of their dedication.[6] More indirectly topographical but of architectural importance is the detailed description of Solomon's Temple.[7]

So much for the character and scope of the geographical references contained in the Bible. How these have been confirmed, explained and supplemented by Exploration may be gathered from the

[1] Judg. 1, 21–35.

[2] I Chron. 12, 3–7.

[3] I Kings 4, 7–19.

[4] II Chron. 11, 6–10.

[5] Neh. 11, 25–26.

[6] Neh., chap. 3, an chap. 12, 27–40. These accounts are further illustrative of the sort of data which give rise to theories differing from each other diametrically. The course of Nehemiah's wall and the position of the gates are laid down differently by almost every student of Jerusalem topography. The line south of the modern city can now, since the excavations of Bliss and Dickie, be fairly well determined, but the two gates discovered are variously identified.

[7] I Kings, chaps. 6 and 7; cf. II Chron., chaps. 3 and 4.

succeeding lectures, which are to deal with travellers who visited the Holy Land for its own sake. But before we take up the story of the Pilgrims it will be well to consider the relations of a more ancient world to Syria and Palestine. In reviewing the early Egyptian and Mesopotamian references to these countries we must bear in mind the scope of our subject, namely, the development of their exploration. To tabulate every reference, a task indispensable to a historical sketch, would be here quite unedifying. Our problem is rather to illustrate as far as we can the knowledge available to foreigners during these early ages concerning these lands, and for this certain documents have a value quite out of proportion to their historical bearing. Thus, while the notices prior to the second millennium B.C. may be passed over with the remark that they consist merely of brief and often vague mention of invasion, or of reference to exported products,[1] the first document to be considered is not history but a romance. The Egyptian Papyrus which goes under the name of the Romance of Sinuhit—for we shall review first the Egyptian records—dates from the time of Usertesen I., about 1966 B.C.[2] Sinuhit, apparently a son of Amenemhat I., after a series of adventures in his flight before his father's successor, is hospitably received by Ammianshi, the ruler of Upper Tenu, held by Müller to be simply an abbre-

[1] For these early references, see Paton, The Early History of Syria and Palestine, chaps. i–iii; cf. Conder, Q. S., 1904, pp. 168 ff.

[2] Maspero, R. P., New Series, vol. ii, pp. 11 ff.

viation of Upper Rutenu, the early Egyptian name for Palestine and Southern Syria.[1] Given his choice among the frontier possessions of the land, he fixed upon the district Eaa, rich in figs and vines, in olive-groves and corn-fields, in wine and honey. Herds of cattle were plentiful, and his poultry-yards well stocked, for he feasted on boiled meat and roast goose. He followed the chase with his greyhounds. A rough, merry life he led for many years, enlivened by raids against the neighboring Bedawîn, but he was glad in his old age to return to the comforts of civilization in Egypt, where, forgetting the vermin of Syria, once again he could anoint his body, wear fine clothes, and enjoy the luxury of a soft bed. The account is pure fiction, but the picture of the land is doubtless true enough. For us its importance lies in the indication that a traveller to Palestine, about 2000 B.C., found there a civilization old enough to have an extended agriculture, and yet still robust and uncorrupted by luxury.

For the first detailed historical presentation of Syria and Palestine, found in Egyptian sources, we have to come down some 500 years after Usertesen I. to the time of Thothmes III., who became sole master of Egypt about 1493 B.C.[2] On the walls of the temple of Amen at Karnak are found pictured his

[1] Müller, Asien und Europa, p. 47. Maspero holds that Tonu must include at least the district between the Dead Sea and the Sinaitic Peninsula.

[2] The extensive conquests of Thothmes I. (*c.* 1544 B.C.) are very briefly recorded on the tombs of his captains, Aahmes and Pennekheb, at El Kab. For the account of the former, see Renouf, R. P., ii, p. 5.

Annals, describing fourteen campaigns in those lands.[1] Light is thrown on their material wealth by the lists of spoil, including vessels of gold and silver, chariots, inlaid furniture of wood and ivory, embroidered garments, jars of incense and of honey, and collections of trees and shrubs. Of still more particular interest is the list of Princes of 119 towns of Upper Rutenu or Palestine,[2] "shut up in the miserable town of Maketa (Megiddo)," the siege of which the Annals describe in detail. The names of the towns, inscribed on small tablets attached to the necks of the captive Princes, bear witness to the marvellous tenacity, through all the ages, of the ancient pre-Israelite nomenclature. Scholars differ as to the exact number[3] to be identified with sites known at the present day and also in some cases adopt different identifications, but among others the Egyptian equivalents of Kadesh, Beyrout, Damascus, Megiddo, Taanach, Merom, Laish (or Dan), Joppa, Ekron, and Gezer may be recognized with certainty. In the North Syrian list of about 235 names, which reach beyond the Euphrates, the proportion of attempted identifications is much smaller and their value more uncertain, the modern geography of this large district being less known than that of Palestine, but in the district of Amatu we

[1] Maspero, Recueil de Travaux, i, ii; Petrie, History of Egypt, ii, pp. 103 ff.

[2] See Conder, Q. S., 1876, pp. 87 ff. and 140 ff.; Tomkins, R. P., New Series, v, pp. 25 ff; Petrie, History of Egypt, ii, pp. 322 ff.

[3] Tomkins suggests identifications of three-quarters of the names, Petrie an even larger proportion.

may clearly recognize Hamath, and in that of Khalbu, Aleppo.[1]

A consideration of the correspondence contained in the 320 famous cuneiform tablets found at Tell-el-Amarna—a correspondence conducted about the fifteenth century B.C., during the reign of Amenhotep III. and Amenhotep IV.—belongs logically to a

[1] Other important records of Egyptian military conquests in Syria are as follows: In the temple of Amen at Karnak occurs a series of pictures with inscriptions, representing among the other deeds of Sety I. (*c.* 1347) an attack on Kadesh. (Lushington, Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., vi, pp. 509 ff.) The same temple contains lists of the places in Syria conquered by Rameses II. (1324–1258) and Rameses III. (1204–1191) (Sayce, R. P., New Series, vi, pp. 19 ff.), together with a copy of the treaty made by the former with the Hittites (Goodwin, R. P., iv, pp. 25 ff.). The Hittite War is also described in the third Sallier Papyrus, by the royal scribe Pentaur (Lushington, R. P., ii, pp. 65 ff.). A badly mutilated list of the towns taken by Rameses II. is found at the Temple of Luxor; and a fuller list of Rameses III.'s conquests at his Temple Palace of Medinet Habu (Sayce, R. P., New Series, vi, pp. 31 ff.). These are illustrated by pictures of the prisoners, whose racial types are clearly differentiated. Those that concern our subject are the leader of the Shasu (Bedawîn), the King of the Kheta (Hittites) and the King of the Amaur (Amorites). Tablets which may still be seen at the Dog River, north of Beyrout, celebrate the victorious march of Rameses II. The inscription of Merenptah (1258–1235) discovered by Petrie in 1896 at Thebes, is interesting as containing the only explicit reference to Israel yet found in the Egyptian monuments. Unfortunately, it appears to throw no light on the date of the Exodus. (For discussion of this point with references, see Paton, The Early History of Syria and Palestine, p. 134.) In the temple at Karnak are 133 names of towns captured by Shishak I., *c.* 926 B.C. (See Conder, Q. S., 1893, pp. 245 ff.) In the course of this raid, which took place under Rehoboam, he seized Jerusalem and carried off treasures from the temple and palace. (I Kings 16, 25–28.) Paton notes (p. 194) that his conquests are far less extensive than his predecessor's, but he brings up the list to a similar fulness by enumerating every obscure village he visited.

strictly biographical or historical study.[1] Practically, however, they have a distinct if indirect bearing on the subject at hand. It was the discovery of these precious letters, written to these kings by their officials and allies in Palestine, in Syria and as far East as Babylonia, that reawakened in the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund the zeal for excavation. It was the discovery of a letter at Lachish made by myself in 1892, under the auspices of the Fund—a letter belonging to the same general correspondence—that served as an inspiration in all my later excavations. It is the remembrance that from Jebeil—the ancient home of the Giblites—from Beyrout, Tyre, Acre, Ascalon, Gaza, Megiddo, Gezer, yes, from Jerusalem itself, were posted the letters found in Egypt, that thrills the explorer to-day when he visits these sites, and fills him with a devouring longing to unearth with the spade the Egyptian answers to these letters. It is the knowledge that during an obscure period in Syrian history, unillumined by light from Scripture, writing was common in the land, that fires him with the hope that a local correspondence conducted between these sites, as well as between others not mentioned among the 150 names of the Tell-el-Amarna letters, may somewhere be preserved under the soil.[2]

More directly concerned with a sketch of the exploration of Palestine is the Papyrus, dated from

[1] See the critical text of Winckler; also Syria and Egypt from the Tell-el-Amarna Letters by Petrie; and Conder's The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets.

[2] Two more tablets were found by Sellin at Taanach, in 1903. Macalister has just reported another from Gezer.

the time of Rameses II., usually referred to as the "Travels of a Mohar."[1] In it are described the adventures of an Egyptian officer, travelling in a chariot from the vicinity of Aleppo to Megiddo, and hence to Egypt *via* Joppa. Under the title of "The First Traveller in Palestine," Conder has given a valuable topographical notice of the thirty-eight places mentioned in Palestine proper, showing that about one-half are well-known Biblical sites. The narrative is brightened by personal touches, as when we read how the chariot broke down in a precipitous pass near Megiddo, how the horses ran away, how the poor Mohar was afflicted by thirst and by heat, and how finally in Joppa he was able to repair his vehicle.

With this account we may compare the later papyrus dealing with another visit of an Egyptian official to Syria about 1070 B.C.[2] Wen Amen's mission was to buy timber for his master, the priest-king Krikhor, from the regions of Gebal, probably the Lebanon. He landed at Dor, near Mt. Carmel, evidently intending to proceed immediately to Gebal, but his journey was delayed for nine days by the theft of the money which he had brought to pay for the timber. On resuming his voyage, he seized a ship of the Zakkala, the kinsmen of the Philistines, whom he suspected of being in league with the thief, and partially made good the loss. The king of Gebal found the money too little, and it

[1] Chabas and Goodwin, R. P., ii, pp. 107 ff.; Conder, Q. S., 1876, pp. 74 ff.

[2] Erman, Äg. Zeitschrift, 1900, p. 1; cf. Paton, pp. 168 ff.

was only after tantalizing negotiations, minutely detailed in the manuscript, and after the lapse of six months, that the timber was piled on the beach. But whether or not our official ever succeeded in transporting it to Egypt is uncertain, for the papyrus account breaks off suddenly. Topographically it has not the same interest as the Travels of a Mohar, but it is a rich mine of folk-lore, illustrating the state of the country before the days of Saul and Samuel.

That much detailed information in regard to Syria and Palestine must have been current among the Assyrians can be inferred from the accounts of the military expeditions of their kings. The common soldiers, followers of Tiglath Pileser I., Ashurnatsirpal III., Shalmeneser II., Tiglath Pileser III., Sargon II. and Sennacherib, on their return home doubtless not only recounted their adventures to their wives and children, but told many a tale regarding the lands they had conquered. From the exiles of the northern kingdom, transported into their midst by Sargon, to the number of 27,000, the Assyrians would have also gathered much information. But the official records left to us are by no means as explicit as those of the Egyptian warriors. Nowhere do we find an exhaustive list of conquered places, like that of Thothmes III. Nor has there come to light an actual description of the land comparable to the Travels of a Mohar. Tiglath Pileser I., a contemporary of Saul and the first Assyrian monarch who invaded Syria, left but brief record of his campaign. Al-

though from Ashurnatsirpal III., who began to reign about the time that Omri ascended the throne of Israel, to Sargon II.,[1] under whom the northern kingdom fell, we have abundant material for tracing the advance of Assyrian power in the west, the actual geographical information furnished by any given record is meagre. The account of Sennacherib's third campaign—the campaign against Judah, in the time of Hezekiah—is richer in detail, at least, as far as Palestine proper is concerned.[2] A brief *résumé* of this will serve as the best specimen of the Assyrian records. But in the account we miss the touches of local coloring which enliven the story of a later campaign conducted by the same Sennacherib against his more northern enemies, "whose dwellings, like the nest of the eagle, the king of birds, were located upon the pinnacle of Nipur," probably Mt. Taurus. Would that Sennacherib had considered Palestine worthy of a vivid picture like the following: "At the foot of Mt. Nipur I placed my camp, with my followers drawn up and my unrelenting warriors, I, like a strong wild-ox, took the lead. Clefts, ravines, mountain-torrents, difficult high floods in a chair I crossed, places impassable for the chair I went down on foot, like an ibex I climbed to the high peaks against them; wherever my knees had

[1] Annals of Ashurnatsirpal III. (see Sayce, R. P., New Series, iii, pp. 128 ff.); Black Obelisk of Shalmeneser II. (see Scheil, R. P., New Series, iv, pp. 36 ff. Nimrûd Inscription of Tiglath Pileser III. (Strong, R. P., New Series, pp. 115 ff.); Annals of Sargon (Oppert, R. P., vii, pp. 21 ff.).

[2] Taylor Cylinder of Sennacherib (Rogers, R. P., New Series, vi, pp. 80 ff.).

a resting-place I sat down on a rock; waters of cold streams for my thirst I drank. Upon the peaks of wooded mountains I pursued them."

But to return to the third campaign. Sennacherib marched victoriously through Sidon, Sarepta, Achzib and Acre into Philistia. The king of Ascalon, after a stubborn but vain resistance, was taken prisoner, and later carried off to Assyria with all his family. The kings of Moab and Edom made their submission with rich presents. At Ekron the leaders of the home party, who had delivered the Assyrian prisoner Padi to Hezekiah, offered resistance, relying on help from the south. This was cut off by Sennacherib, the conspirators against him were slain, and their corpses impaled on stakes set up about the city. The Assyrian conqueror next turned his attention to Hezekiah. Forty-six of his strong cities were taken by storm. Among these, doubtless, was Lachish, though it is not mentioned by name in this record. However, a splendid bas-relief, now in the British Museum, depicts its siege. Hezekiah was shut up in Jerusalem like "a bird in a cage." Overwhelmed by the "fear of the brightness of the lordship" of Sennacherib, he purchased the independence of his city with 30 talents of gold, 200 talents of silver, precious stones, curious woods, couches and thrones of ivory, the women of his palace, male and female slaves, and by surrendering Padi, who was re-established by Sennacherib as governor of Ekron.[1]

[1] For the campaigns of Ashurbanipal (the second king after Sennacherib), after whose death the Assyrian Empire rapidly broke up, see Smith, R. P., i, pp. 55 ff.

The above brief sketch illustrates the extent and character of information relating to the Holy Land in the possession of the ancient peoples of Egypt and Mesopotamia. We may now glance rapidly at the references of Greek, Roman and non-Biblical Jewish writers.

The apparently confused nomenclature of Herodotus is explained by a recognition of the fact that he used the term Syria in a wider and in a narrower sense. The former includes Cappadocia,[1] and possibly Assyria, as he states that the Assyrians are called Syrians by the Greeks.[2] In the narrower sense he appears to limit the name to the strip of land between Cilicia and Egypt—in other words, to employ the term in our modern sense.[3] In one passage Palestine is made to include Phœnicia,[4] but in another the Syrians of Palestine are distinguished from the Phœnicians.[5] That he visited the country is proved by his statement that he saw the pillars erected by Sesostris in Palestine[6]—perhaps the tablets inscribed by Rameses II. at the Dog River; and by his description of the Temple of Hercules which he said he inspected at Tyre.[7] This he found "richly adorned with a number of offerings, among which were two pillars, one of pure gold, the other of emerald shining with great brilliancy at

[1] Herodotus I, 6, and 72; VII, 72. [2] VII, 63.

[3] III, 91; VII, 89.

[4] "The Phœnicians . . . fixed themselves on the sea-coast. . . . This part of Syria and all the region extending from hence to Egypt is known by the name of Palestine." (VII, 89.) Phœnicia is distinctly mentioned in II, 44.

[5] II, 104. [6] II, 106. [7] II, 44.

night." But the land seems to have interested him little for its own sake. His reference to places are mere scattered illustrations of the historical narrative. For example, his account of the Temple at Tyre is incidental to his notice of the cult of Hercules; in referring to the proposed raid of the Scythians on Egypt, he notes the pillaging of the Temple of Venus at Ascalon;[1] the twenty-nine years' siege of Azotus (Ashdod) is said to have been the longest known in history;[2] he refers to the battle of Necho II. at Magdolus,[3] which a comparison with the Biblical narrative shows to be Megiddo.[4] There is no evidence, however, that he had even heard of Jerusalem. Necho, after the battle of Megiddo, is said to have made himself master of Cadytis, "a large city of Syria." In this some have seen a reference to קדש, "the Holy" city. But in another passage Cadytis clearly indicates Gaza,[5] and even supposing that Herodotus refers to two cities of the same name, the Cadytis taken after the battle of Megiddo may have easily been Kadesh on the Orontes, passed in the course of Necho's campaign against Assyria.[6] This silence as to the capital of the Jewish kingdom is eloquent of the early ignorance of the western world in regard to the Hebrew nation. Herodotus wrote about the time Nehemiah was rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. Would that curiosity had led him to visit it!

[1] I, 105. [2] II, 157. [3] II, 159.

[4] II Kings 32, 29; cf. II Chron., 35, 22. [5] III, 5.

[6] So Paton, Early History of S. and P., p. 273. Paton, however, says Herodotus seems to place (erroneously) the battle of Magdolus at Migdol on the border of Egypt.

The Phœnicians, however, were the objects of his explicit admiration. He touches with enthusiasm on the excellence of their ships;[1] on their circumnavigation of Africa;[2] their skill in mining;[3] their superiority over all other workmen employed in digging the canal of Xerxes across Mt. Athos;[4] their colonization of Bœotia;[5] the introduction by them of writing into Greece.[6]

After the eastern campaign of Alexander the Great, resulting in the establishment of Greek rule in Syria and in Egypt, both Syria and Palestine became for the first time of direct importance to the Greeks.[7] Two of Alexander's generals wrote accounts of his expedition, Ptolemy Lagus, first Greek king of Egypt, and Aristobulus. While these histories have perished, they served as a basis for a work still extant, namely Arrian's history of Alexander. To this work, written under Hadrian and the Antonines, we shall refer in place. "The history of the Jews," ascribed to the Greek Physician Hectæus, of Abdera, who apparently also accompanied Alexander on his victorious march, is preserved only in loose quotations in Arrian's history and in the works of Josephus. Most important among these is a brief passage—barely 200 words

[1] VII, 96. [2] IV, 44. [3] VI, 47.
[4] VII, 23. [5] II, 49. [6] V, 58.

[7] The Periplus of Scylax, written probably during the latter part of Philip's reign, treats this subject cursorily in Sec. 104. In the mutilated form in which it has survived we find little more than a catalogue of the towns, as well as some of the natural features along the coast of Syria and Palestine. (See Geographi Græci. Minores, vol. i, ed. Müller, 1882.)

long—describing Jerusalem and its Temple.[1] In this connection we may refer to the tract ascribed to Aristeas, claiming to give an account of the Mission of the Author sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus to Jerusalem to obtain materials for preparing the Septuagint version of the Scriptures. The fifth chapter[2] contains a short description of the Holy Land and of the Holy City, the chief stress being laid upon the Temple, its high-priest and its ritual. The best scholarship has pronounced this work to be a forgery by some Jew of Alexandria in the interests of national glorification, but its antiquity is demonstrated by the existence of quotations in Philo and Josephus.

Polybius, the Greek historian, who wrote about the middle of the second century B.C., illustrates his accounts of the movements of the Seleucidan armies by a wealth of allusions to places in Syria and Palestine. But no general description of these lands is attempted, at least in the extant portions of his history. We are tantalized by his reference to the "sacred town" of Jerusalem: "Concerning this city we have much more to say, especially of its magnificent Temple, but we must put off our narrative till another opportunity."[3] Whether the opportunity never came, or whether the promise was fulfilled in one of the missing parts of the work we can only guess, but we gather from his picture of Seleucia that he was capable of giving us a precious

[1] Jos. against Apion, I, 22.

[2] Historia de legis Divinæ Translatione. For English version, see Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, vol. xi.

[3] XVI, 39.

topographical account of the Holy City. "The site of Seleucia," he writes,[1] "and the character of the surrounding regions are as follows: It lies on the sea-shore between Cilicia and Phœnicia, and has near to it a very lofty mountain called Coryphæus, which on the west side is washed by the end of the sea which is between Cyprus and Phœnicia, while from its eastern slope one may overlook the lands of Antiochia Seleucia. On the southern foot-hills Seleucia lies, separated from the main ridge by a deep and impassable ravine. The town slopes down irregularly to the sea, and is surrounded for the most part by cliffs and precipitous crags. In the level places along the part facing the sea stand the markets and the lower town, very strongly fortified. In the same way the entire body of the town has been protected by costly walls, and finely adorned with temples and elaborate buildings. It has only one approach from the sea-coast, artificially cut in the form of a stair, interrupted by frequently occurring turnings and irregularities."

With Strabo we find ourselves at last on what we may venture to call scientific ground. This pioneer in biographical learning, born about 54 B.C., devotes a chapter of his work to a systematic treatment of Syria.[2] It seems unlikely that this was based on personal observation. No one who had explored the land even superficially, would have stated that the Lycus—the short, shallow stream known to-day as the Dog River—was navigated with vessels of burden;[3] that the parallel chains of Libanus and Anti-

[1] V, 59. [2] Book XVI, chap. ii. [3] Sec. 17.

Libanus run from the sea toward Damascus, *i.e.*, west and east;[1] that the Jordan flows into the plain between these two chains;[2] and that Joppa "is said to command a view of Jerusalem."[3] However, his record is valuable in showing the limitations as well as the extent of geographical knowledge current in the Western world about the beginning of the Christian era. He begins by giving the boundaries of Syria—Cilicia and Mt. Amanus on the north; the Euphrates and the Arabian Scenitæ on the east; Arabia Felix and Egypt on the south; and the Egyptian and Syrian seas as far as Issus on the west. Proceeding with systematic detail from north to south, he notes the main divisions of Commagene, Seleucia, Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia and Judea; dwells on the historic and actual condition of the chief cities; enumerates the rivers and mountains. Like the writers of all later ages, he is struck by the mysterious Dead Sea, confused by him, however, with Lake Serbonis. He notes its density, which prevents a man from being submerged below the waist; mentions its asphaltic properties; and is inclined to believe in the "common tradition of the natives" that earthquakes, eruptions of flames and hot springs caused the lake to burst its bounds and to swallow up some of the cities of which Sodom was the capital.[4]

But of especial interest is his strange account of Moses, a priest of the Egyptians, who, with a band of right-minded followers, occupied Jerusalem, establishing there "no ordinary kind of govern-

[1] Sec. 16. [2] Ibid. [3] Sec. 28. [4] Secs. 42–44.

ment," based not upon force but upon the attractiveness of the monotheistic religion which he taught. The site, indeed, was easily acquired and kept. Standing on a rocky place, surrounded by a barren and waterless district—though itself well watered—it was not a spot to excite jealousy. Allured by his eloquence, the neighboring nations willingly united themselves to him. God, so preached the Leader, must be worshipped in a sacred shrine, but without any form or similitude. Only those who practised temperance and justice might expect good or some gift or sign from the Deity. "Such," says Strabo, "were Moses and his successors; their beginning was good, but they degenerated." In later times the priesthood was occupied by superstitious persons and tyrants. New customs, such as circumcision, were introduced. Ambition led to robbery. A large part of Syria and Phœnicia was ravaged. The title of priest was exchanged for that of king. During a season of civil strife, Pompey surprised the contestants, destroyed the fortresses and gave orders to raze the walls of Jerusalem.[1]

Like Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, who wrote early in the first century A.D., treats geography merely as explanatory of historical events. For example, he shows how of all the Phœnician states Sidon excelled in wealth. Tripoli, with its three cities called respectively after the Aradians, the Sidonians, and the Tyrians, had the greatest dignity. Tyre was

[1] This account is included in Secs. 35–40. His brief but picturesque description of Petra occurs in his chapter on Arabia—Book XVI, chap. iv.

celebrated for the mole of Alexander. The great town of Azotus stood the longest siege in history. Two subjects, however, appeal strongly to his imagination: the Dead Sea, whose strange qualities he details, and the race of Arabs called Nabatæans, whose life he describes at length.[1] Liberty, he says, is to them a passion. They name as their native land a solitude which has no streams nor irrigating fountains. Solitude thus becomes to them a refuge from the enemy in search of water. This the marauder cannot find, for the native Arabs store the rain in huge excavated cisterns, whose small mouths, carefully closed up, reveal no traces except to those who have the secret. Their food is meat or milk, and natural products, such as pepper and wild honey. It is a law among them not to plant corn or any fruitful shrub nor to build a house. Whosoever is found to break this law, on him is meted out capital punishment. On its enforcement their independence hangs. For only those who have fixed possessions easily yield to the more powerful. Some of them rear camels, others sheep, wandering through the desert in search of pasture. Still others act as carriers, transporting frankincense and myrrh to the sea. There are other Arab tribes, indeed, so says Diodorus, who practise agriculture, and have other customs in common with the Syrians, but not even they live in houses.

Pliny's brief compendium of the topography of Syria and Palestine, written about A.D. 78, is the

[1] Book XIX, 94; cf. also Book II, 48.

first serious notice of these countries by a Roman author.[1] He gives the length of Syria between Cilicia and Arabia as 470 miles, and its breadth between Seleucia Pieria and the Euphrates as 175 miles. He thus has a fairly accurate idea of the extent of ground it covers, but his account of its divisions appears to reflect the confused condition of the geographical nomenclature as known to the Romans of his day. His Samaria seems to include the sea-coast from near Gaza to Cæsarea, as he assigns to it the maritime towns of Ascalon, Ashdod, Joppa and Cæsarea, as well as the interior towns of Neapolis and Sebaste.[2] This would relegate Judea entirely to the interior, and so it is placed on Menke's map of Palestine according to Pliny.[3] But he states elsewhere[4] that those who make a more minute division of the country will have it "that Judea includes part of the maritime coast." The term Syria is used sometimes in a broad sense for the whole country, and sometimes is limited to Syria Antiochia. The limits of Palestine are not defined, nor is it clear whether he regards it as a main, or as a secondary, division, such as Judea or Samaria. But the detail is richer and more correct, showing a distinct advance upon Strabo. He names in order the chief features of the coast—towns, promontories and rivers—from the Egyptian border to the Gulf of Issus. Libanus and Anti-Libanus are correctly placed. The course of the Jordan is traced from its

[1] Historia Naturalis, Book V, Secs. 13–19. Barely 1,300 words long.

[2] Sec. 14. [3] Bibel-Atlas, Pl. VI. [4] Sec. 13.

source at Paneas through the Lake of Gennesaret to the Dead Sea. Measurements of both lakes are given, and camels are said to be able to float on the latter. He gives a list of the toparchies of Judea, as well as the earliest known enumeration of the towns of the Decapolis, which he says are interpenetrated and surrounded by the tetrarchies. Jerusalem he dismisses with the statement that it is the most illustrious of all Eastern towns, but adds later, in a comparison pregnant with ignorance of the Holy City, that Engedi is second to it in fertility and its groves of Palms! The only division of the people that attracted his notice was the sect of the Essenes, whose strange life he describes at length.[1]

Tacitus, the other Roman writer who claims our attention, published his history under the Emperor Trajan. His neglect to profit by the works of Josephus, issued during the reign of Domitian, the second emperor preceding, accounts for his wild theories as to the origin of the Jews, and is accounted for by the acrid and contemptuous tone pervading his entire notice of this people evidently considered by him to be unworthy of critical attention.[2] He condemns them as a people of unbridled lust, that is, among themselves, for they have no dealings with strangers. Their religious rites he brands as dull and repulsive. "Moses," he says, "prescribed to them a new form of worship, and opposed to those of all the world beside.

[1] His brief notice of Palmyra is found in Sec. 21.

[2] History, Book V, 1–13.

Whatever is held sacred by the Romans, with the Jews is profane; what in other nations is unlawful and impure, with them is permitted."[1] He does not take the trouble to sift irreconcilable reports regarding this despised people. In one place he writes, "The figure of the animal" (the wild ass), "through whose guidance they slaked their thirst and were enabled to terminate their wanderings, is consecrated in the Sanctuary of their Temple."[2] In another he declares, "The Jews acknowledge one God only and conceive of him by the mind alone, condemning as impious all who with perishable materials, wrought into the human shape, form representations of the Deity. That Being, they say, is above all and everlasting, neither susceptible of likeness, nor subject to decay. In consequence they allow no resemblance of him in their temples."[3]

Syria is merely mentioned, while the brief notice of the land of the Jews serves but as an introduction to the account of the catastrophe that befell "that celebrated city," Jerusalem, under Titus. He notes the boundaries, correctly characterizes Mt. Libanus, and follows the waters of the Jordan through two lakes to their absorption in a third, where all can float with equal ease whether swimmers or not, mentioning, however, the name of none of the three lakes. The only city referred to is Jerusalem. Its almost unassailable position and its splendid fortifications are dwelt upon. It was situated, he says, on two hills of prodigious height, surrounded by walls with towers 60 feet high where

[1] Sec. 4. [2] Sec. 4. [3] Sec. 5.

they stood on the hills and 120 feet high where they stood on the low ground. "The city is enclosed by the first fortifications you meet with, the royal palace by the second, the temple by the inmost."[1] The last-mentioned walls were more elaborate and massive than the rest, enclosing a shrine of immense wealth.[2]

The references to Syria and Palestine in Arrian's Expedition of Alexander, written in the second century A.D. under Hadrian and the Antonines, are merely incidental to the narrative, including no general descriptions of these lands. The topography of Tyre, its harbors, the construction of Alexander's mole, are treated with some detail.[3] A few other towns are mentioned, but of these Gaza alone is accorded a description. "Gaza is about 20 stadia distant from the sea; the approach to it is sandy and difficult, and the sea, below the city, is everywhere shallow. Gaza is a large city; it stands on a lofty mound, and is girt by a strong wall. It is the last inhabited place as one goes from Phœnicia to Egypt, at the beginning of the Desert."[4] Arrian's singular geographical indefiniteness may be shown by the following quotation: "Alexander made an expedition into Arabia, into a mountain called Anti-Libanus!"[5]

In his Geographical Narration, Claudius Ptolemy,

[1] Sec. 11.
[2] Sec. 12.
[3] Book II, chap. xvi.
[4] Chap. xxvi.
[5] Chap. xx.—Even more brief are the Oriental references of Quintus Curtius, in regard to whose date nothing is known beyond the general induction that he lived in one of the early centuries of the Christian era.

the great astronomer of the second century A.D., takes an advance step in the field of topography.[1] Strabo and Pliny furnish a multitude of names, following each other in general order as from north to south, or grouped in a given district. Ptolemy developed a system by which he attempted definitely to fix the position of places. His method of computing latitude and longitude is crude, and errors often occur, but Reland points out that he alone of the ancient authors furnishes the material for constructing a geographical table of Palestine. Reland might have said: "He alone of all the authors before modern times." The precious notices of the Onomasticon, that last echo of the classic period, are at best lacking in precision. Burchard's attempts to locate sites (*c.* 1283), by a series of radiating bands, and Marino Sanuto's map (1321), with its network of little squares, are hardly more than child's play. Ptolemy, indeed, took an important step toward a systematic geography of the Holy Land, but few other steps were taken before the time of Reland himself, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is hardly necessary to state that Ptolemy's point of view has nothing to do with Scripture History. About twenty towns that may be identified with Biblical sites are mentioned, but always under their Greek or Roman names, when these had displaced the Hebrew nomenclature. Bethlehem and Nazareth, of prime importance to the Christian, were of no interest to the Greek writer.

So much for the purely literary works, touching

[1] Γεωγραφικὴ Ὑφήγησις.

our subject, written by Greeks and Romans.[1] But before passing to extra-Biblical Jewish literature, we must note two interesting documents of Latin origin but of a somewhat different character. The so-called Antonine Itinerary, which, however, clearly postdates the Antonine Emperors, is a list of places along the military routes of the Roman Empire, with distances between stations.[2] About sixty different towns in Syria and Palestine are indicated, but many are repeated as they occur along different routes. The Tabula Peutingeriana takes its name from Peutinger, a scholar of Augsburg, who was once its possessor. It is sometimes called the Tabula Theodosiana, owing to a tradition which ascribes its compilation, or its revision, to Theodosius the Great. Internal evidence, however, shows that it had a much earlier origin. "The Peutinger Table," writes Beazley, "was undoubtedly put into its present shape by a monk of Colmar in 1265, and is thus, as we have it, mediæval, or, at least, mediævalized. Yet there can be no question that the table is essentially a map of the Pagan world—a touchstone, as it has been called, of ancient geography; that the Christian and mediæval accretions are trifling and superficial; and that even in our present copy we have a pretty faithful reproduction of a road-map designed to give a view of the

[1] Note, however, the brief description, in hexameter verse, of the Phœnician coast, with mention of the chief towns, from Gaza to Tripoli (but not in order), in the Periegesis of Dionysius, who probably flourished near the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

[2] Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum. Edition of Parthey and Pindar, Berlin, 1847.

Roman Empire and the outside world, about the time of Augustus."[1]

This table is in the form of a chart about twenty-two feet long and only one foot high, wound on rollers.[2] At first glance one might be tempted to assume that the geographer was afflicted by a complicated form of astigmatism. Owing to the great extent of ground which it covers, these peculiar dimensions have demanded the reduction of the seas to narrow strips, and the exaggeration of latitude at the expense of longitude, together with a curious distortion by which the Adriatic is made to run parallel to the Mediterranean, and Palestine runs west and east as a continuation of the North African coast. The routes are indicated by zigzag lines, something like chain-lightning. The smaller towns are represented by a couple of little houses in elevation; the larger towns—Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria—by medallions which encircle human figures. The distances between towns are written along the zigzags. In the part concerned with Syria and Palestine, we note several errors. For example, the Jordan appears to have its source in the Lake of Tiberias, though it is rightly made to disappear in the Dead Sea. But this is also indicated as the *terminus ad quem* of the Hieromax, really a confluent of the Jordan.

Outside the pages of the Bible the chief Jewish authority on our subject during this early period is Josephus. That he was a native of Jerusalem and

[1] The Dawn of Modern Geography, London, 1897, pp. 380–81.

[2] For facsimile, see Mannert, Leipzig, 1829.

prominent in the struggle against the Roman forces in Galilee, both qualifies and disqualifies him for the task of writing soberly. In treating of his beloved land he often distorts and exaggerates the historical facts to the end of glorifying his nation. This tendency has brought even his topographical notices into discredit with many authorities. But one of his most careful students—Sir Charles Wilson, who made the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem—thus writes of him: "Every new discovery, every important plan that has been made, has served more and more to confirm the testimony of Josephus and to give a higher idea of the accuracy of his local knowledge." Wilson, however, discriminates between the passages which may be taken as authoritative, and those which are of doubtful accuracy, noting that while his descriptions are correct in plan, or in horizontal dimensions, he exaggerates heights; that while he is to be trusted in all that could be tested at the time he writes, he indulges his national vanity in describing the buildings overthrown in the Siege of Jerusalem.[1]

As in the case of the Bible, most of his information respecting geography is merely incidental to the narrative. However, we find at least four deliberate descriptions of a scientific character: the first of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea; the second of Jericho and environs; the third of Jerusalem; the fourth of the Temple.[2] Around his account of the divisions

[1] Art. Jerusalem, Smith's Dict. of the Bible; ed. of 1893, p. 1633.

[2] Wars, III, iii; IV, viii; V, iv; V, v.

and of the walls of his native city a great controversy has raged. It furnishes a capital illustration of radical differences among authorities in their interpretation of the same historical data. But as an adequate discussion involves the opening up of the burning questions of Jerusalem topography—the position of Zion, the site of the Acra, the course of the second wall—it does not come within our present scope.[1]

Although the two Talmuds encroach on the ground of the next lecture, we may briefly refer to them here. The chronological range of the Palestinian Talmud is from the end of the second to about the middle of the fifth century A.D., that of the Babylonian Talmud is from about the year 190 to the end of the sixth century. Of the two, the former is the fuller of passages touching on history, topography and archæology. The geographical references have been systematized by Neubauer.[2] In his preface, he points out that these are always conditioned by the dogmatic discussions. For example, while some quite obscure towns are mentioned in connection with the lives of the Rabbis, others of intrinsic importance are never referred to, as they have no connection with the subject-matter. Interesting light, however, is thrown on the Hebrew form, at the period of the Talmud, of the names of towns even now inhabited. The village near Beit Jibrîn, called to-day Kefr Dikkerîn—a name found in no form in the Bible—appears as כפר דכרין.

[1] For a full discussion, see art. Jerusalem, Encyclop. Biblica.
[2] La Geographie du Talmud, Paris, 1868.

It seems strange to find Jerusalem almost entirely neglected. The walls of the city are not mentioned; and, of the gates, only the Dung Gate is referred to. There is no enumeration of Herod's sumptuous edifices, though these are glanced at with general admiration. To the writers of the Talmud it was more important to record that there were 480 Synagogues and 80 schools.[1] Mount Moriah—called the Mountain of the House—and the Temple are fully described by the Talmudists, who are not always in accord with Josephus, preferring sometimes to borrow from the prophetic descriptions of Ezekiel.[2]

Among the few direct geographical indications to be found in the Talmud are passages concerning the frontiers, the seas, and the physical characteristics of the three districts—Judea, Galilee, and Perea.

[1] La Geographie du Talmud, Paris, 1868, pp. 134 ff.

[2] An English translation of the elaborate account of the Temple contained in the tract of the Mishnah called the Middoth or Measurements is given in the Jerusalem Volume of the P. E. F. Survey.

LECTURE II

THE AGE OF PILGRIMAGE

WITH the present lecture we have reached a new phase, indeed a unique phase of Palestine exploration. The Egyptian and Mesopotamian records regard Syria and Palestine simply from the viewpoint of conquest. Josephus, the chief non-Biblical Jewish historian, writes, as we have seen, with the motive of magnifying his country before the Romans. The Greek and Roman geographers bring in a scientific element, not only giving broad presentations of the land as a whole, but arranging their detail in systematic form. But with the conversion of the Empire to Christianity and the consequent decay of Paganism, old motives are lost, new motives are born. The Western world had lapsed into a second childhood. The higher classical geography became, to use Beazley's phrase, "a deposit rarely used, a legacy generally forgotten."[1] But the Dark Ages were illuminated by pious zeal. Sacred topography was about the only department of practical geography cultivated. Long and difficult pilgrimages were taken to the Holy Land, not indeed in the quest for new knowledge, but in the interests

[1] The Dawn of Modern Geography, p. 3.

of Faith. Identification became the motto: not identification for learning's sake, but as a stimulus to religious sentiment. Attention was diverted from the main features of the land by an eager desire to examine particular places, many of which were of no intrinsic importance, but which were pregnant with historical interest, always centring in the Bible. Identifications adopted under such conditions must necessarily be treated with caution. The chief thing was to localize a particular event, usually indeed on the basis of some tradition, but the process owed nothing to the critical faculty, for the simple reason that the critical faculty was undeveloped.

The first serious attempts at identification we owe, however, not to pilgrims, but to two men who may be regarded practically as natives of the land. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, who died A.D. 340, prepared the famous Onomasticon. This was translated from Greek into Latin by Jerome, who died in Bethlehem, A.D. 420, after a sojourn of thirty-four years. Jerome travelled extensively in the Holy Land, at one time accompanying the Roman matron Paula, whose journeyings we shall follow later.

The Onomasticon[1] is a geographical Dictionary of Biblical place-names, consisting of brief articles arranged in alphabetical order, mentioning the historical events for which a given place was celebrated, and in certain cases proposing identifications with actual sites. The positions of such sites are

[1] See the Thesaurus of Ugolinus, Tome II; and Migne's Patrologia, Vol. 23.

often indicated by distances, and sometimes by direction from fixed points. Jerome, who enlarges upon Eusebius's list, though he also omits some places noted by the latter, names in all about 1,000 places, but he attempts the identification of about 300 only. He observes that some Biblical names have remained unchanged, while others are altered or corrupted. Some of the identifications are curiously incorrect. Perhaps the most notable mistake is found in the vehement rejection of the Samaritan identification of Ebal and Gerizim with the mountains on either side of Shechem, which are declared to be too far apart for "those who blessed and those who cursed" to hear each other. The scene of this solemn ceremony is placed near Jericho. The actual condition of the land is illustrated by notes, mentioning, *inter alia*, a heathen temple on Mt. Hermon, worshipped by the inhabitants of Paneas and the Lebanon, and various military garrisons.

Little attention was paid to this important work by the pilgrims and other writers of the succeeding centuries. For many of its correct identifications were substituted worthless traditions. For example, Bethel was by several authors located on Mt. Gerizim near Shechem. At length Burchard of Mt. Zion, writing about the year 1283, pointed out the true site, referring directly to the authority of Jerome.[1] But neglected as it was, the Onomasticon

[1] Excerpts from Jerome are, indeed, inserted in Arculf's account by his editor Adamnan, *c.* 670, but the material is treated uncritically.

remained for almost twelve centuries the sole scholarly compendium of Biblical geography.[1] Adrichomius, in 1590, using Burchard's notes as a basis, presented the subject in systematic form. He was followed by Bocharti, 1646, and Sanson, 1665. But it was left to Hadrian Reland, 1714, to produce a work which Robinson called "next to the Bible the most important book for travellers in Palestine."[2] Reland's work, however, was not based on personal observation. The true successors of Eusebius and Jerome were Robinson and Conder—Robinson who, for modern times, initiated a true scientific method of identification; Conder who, more than all other investigators, developed and illustrated its principles. We may quote, then, without apology, what these modern explorers have said of their prototypes.

"That important work, the Onomasticon (of Eusebius and Jerome) . . . ," says Robinson,[3] "can be regarded in a historical respect only as a record of the traditions current in their day, sanctioned indeed by the judgment of these fathers. The names thus preserved are of the highest importance, but the value of the traditions connected with them must be proved in the same manner as all others, although they were then in general far less corrupted than in the lapse of subsequent centuries. . . . The Onomasticon, with all its defects and wrong hy-

[1] The classical geographers of course took no interest in Biblical identifications.

[2] Researches, vol. i, p. 32 (edition of 1856).

[3] Ibid.

potheses, has yet preserved to us much of the tradition of the common people, and contains many names of places never since discovered, though still existing."

"The list of 300 names," writes Conder,[1] "known to the authors of the Onomasticon, shows a very complete knowledge of the topography of the Holy Land as it existed in their time; and the large majority of the sites have been recovered, many being identified for the first time during the course of the Survey, 1872–82. . . . It is, however, to be remarked that the distances, as a rule, except along Roman roads with mile-stones, are approximate only. . . . The Onomasticon cannot be received as authority for identification, because its suggestions are in many cases irreconcilable with the Bible. In many cases Jerome, however, appears to accept Jewish traditions which are sometimes correct. . . . The greatest value lies in its witness to the survival of the Hebrew nomenclature of the country of the fourth century, even more perfectly preserved than now."

We have intimated that the pre-Crusading period is characterized by a unique phase of Palestine Exploration—unique by virtue of the narrowness of aim which unifies all Western travellers for the 800 years preceding the capture of Jerusalem by the Christian army, and which thus prevents any continuous advance in real exploration. For this aim, as we have said, was not primarily to acquire knowledge, but to stimulate religious feeling by contemplation of the

[1] Q. S., 1896, pp. 229 ff.

sacred sites. The Monk Bernard, writing late in the ninth century, throws little more light on the Holy Land than does the pious Bordeaux Pilgrim who journeyed early in the fourth. Pilgrims differ in the extent of ground which they cover, but their main theses are the same and are elaborated in much the same manner. They pass from Christian shrine to Christian shrine, with their eyes closed to the intervening country. For the actual state of the land they care almost as little as for its classical history. Antoninus Martyr, indeed, denounces the wickedness of the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon, but that his motive was personal rather than statistical is suggested by his finding the people of Gaza respectable and eminent for liberality of all kinds, being "lovers of pilgrims!"

The first actual narrative of a Christian pilgrimage is that of the so-called Bordeaux Pilgrim,[1] made A.D. 333, as proved by the references to the Consulship of Dalmatius and Zenophilus, and thus soon after the Christian Empire of Constantine was firmly established. But for more than a century previously the thoughts of the Western world had been turned toward Palestine. In A.D. 212 Alexander, Bishop

[1] For the original texts of the pilgrim-narratives, referred to in this lecture, see the editions of Tobler and Molinier, Geneva, 1877–85; for the English translation consult the publications of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, edited by Wilson, Conder, Aubrey Stewart, etc., vols. i–xiii. These, besides earlier references, contain the records of the chief travellers, from the Bordeaux Pilgrim, 333, to Felix Fabri, 1483, including the Moslems, Mukaddasi and Nasîr-i-Khusrau. Our quotations follow these translations, and to the notes and introductions we are indebted for many suggestions.

of Cappadocia (though probably of Western origin), visited Jerusalem as a pilgrim, but remained as its Bishop.[1] By the beginning of the fourth century, so Eusebius tells us, Christians came up to the Holy City from all parts of the earth.[2] The alleged discoveries of that exploring-pilgrim, Helena, the mother of Constantine, who claimed to have found Calvary, the Tomb, and the True Cross, gave a great stimulus to a habit already formed.

Like many of his successors, the anonymous Bordeaux Pilgrim begins his account by telling how he got to Palestine from his native land.[3] At first we find a mere list of places and distances, following closely the Antonine Itinerary, interspersed, here and there, with brief geographical and historical comments. He takes the land route to Constantinople via Mediolanum (Milan) and Singidunum (Belgrade). The detailed character of the itinerary may be gathered from the fact that between Bordigala (Bordeaux) and Constantinople it names 208 changes and 90 halts.[4] From the Byzantine capital his route proceeds through Asia Minor to Antioch, and thence to the coast, which it follows as far as Cæsarea Palestina, south of Carmel. Here the pilgrim strikes inland, visiting Stradela (Jezreel), Scythopolis (Beth-

[1] In Jerome's De Viris Illustribus, *c.* 62 (Migne, P. L., Tome 23, p. 674).

[2] Eusebius Demonstr. Evang., VI, 18 (Migne, Tome 22, p. 458). For references to the names of pilgrims, see Beazley's Dawn of Modern Geography, p. 54.

[3] P. P. T., vol. i.

[4] The summing up, after Constantinople is reached, gives 230 changes and 112 halts.

shean) and Neapolis (Shechem). His passing within a day's journey of Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee, places of prime importance to all later pilgrims but apparently of no interest to him, is at least noteworthy. Up to this point, to the list of the sites visited have been appended brief notes, such as after the mention of Sarepta, "Here Helias—Elijah—went up to the widow and begged food for himself;" or concerning Jezreel, "Here reigned King Achab and here Helias prophesied; here is the field in which David slew Goliath." But with Neapolis—Shechem—the account takes the narrative form, teeming with Scriptural allusions, and this is preserved, with more or less continuity, as far as Hebron. Our pilgrim notes Jacob's well near Sichar, Mt. Gerizim, and Bethar—or Bethel—twelve miles north of Jerusalem. The description of the Holy City is brief, containing about 800 words. The topography is treated inçidentally, as the pilgrim tells how he passed from site to site, but it is quite possible to follow his various routes. Leaving the city near the Temple-site he passes along the southern slopes above Siloam to the House of Caiphas on the part of Zion without the walls. From his description we gather that the city followed the lines of Hadrian's Aelia, which are practically the lines of Modern Jerusalem. Re-entering by the gate of Zion, at or near the site of the present Bâb-Neby Daûd, he notes on the right the ruins of Pilate's prætorium and on the left the church erected by Constantine on the supposed site of the Holy Sepulchre; then passing through the eastern gate—now the gate of St.

Stephen—he comes through the Kedron Valley to the Mt. of Olives. Bethany, Jericho, the Jordan, the Dead Sea, were visited in one excursion from Jerusalem; Bethlehem and Hebron in another. He returned to Cæsarea by Lydda and Antipatris, and thence went home *via* Constantinople. Thus, with the exception of Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee, the Bordeaux Pilgrim visited most of the sites seen by the modern traveller who takes the short tour. The Latin style shows much poverty of language; the phrase "of wondrous beauty," which occurs four times, seems to exhaust his powers of expressing admiration.

Apart from the topographical allusions, the chief interest of the account lies for the critics in the absence of reference to minor Christian traditions and relics with which the writings of the sixth and all succeeding centuries are so overladen. The column of Flagellation and the Palm, from which were cut the branches for the Triumphal Entry, are indeed mentioned, but we read nothing of the Cross and its adoration, the lance, or the crown of thorns. That too much stress should not be laid on any particular omission is suggested by the Pilgrim's silence regarding the Mt. of Olives as the place of Ascension, an identification well established some twenty years before his journey. Here, according to Eusebius,[1] Christians flocked from all parts of the earth to pay their adoration at the spot where Christ ascended into Heaven. It may be legitimately inferred, however, that relic-worship had not in the fourth cen-

[1] Demonstr. Evang., VI, 18; written about A.D. 315.

tury assumed the paramount importance which attached to it in the sixth. On the other hand, we find record of traditions connected with Jewish history, such as the crypt in which Solomon tortured devils, and the chamber in which he wrote the Book of Wisdom. We note, too, with interest, his mention of two statues of Hadrian within the Temple Area, which was not sanctified by a church till Justinian's time.

In pleasing contrast to the bald style of the Bordeaux Pilgrim's Guide-Book are the two accounts which we have of the sojourn in the Holy Land of the wealthy and famous Paula, Matron of Rome, who left that city in A.D. 382. One is the description of her two years' pilgrimage, written many years later by her friend and master, Jerome, who appears to have accompanied her for a part of the time, and who must be held responsible for the geographical allusions in both narratives; the other is her own letter from her new home in Bethlehem to a friend, Marcella, urging this Roman lady to join her in a tour of the Holy Land.[1] Jerome gives a graphic account of her embarkation with her daughter Eustochium, of her anguish at parting with the other children, of her resolve not to look back at them as the ship sailed off, though her little son Lexotius piteously stretched forth his hands from the shore. After stopping at Cyprus, where she left substantial remembrances to the monasteries, she proceeded to Antioch. Again striking the sea-coast, she followed this to Joppa, with a short *détour* to the plain of

[1] P. P. T., vol. i.

Esdraelon. After exploring Jerusalem and making the ordinary tourist excursions to the Jordan district and to Hebron, she started north on an extended trip in Galilee and Samaria. Returning to the Holy City, she travelled to Egypt by land, passing Lachish and Gaza. Her return journey to Bethlehem was made by sea as far as Gaza. Jerome's account is breezy and popular, his aim being rather to extol Paula's piety and enthusiasm rather than to give a description of the places visited. "Time rather than matter would fail me," he says, "if I wished to detail all the places to which the devout Paula wandered with incredible faith." He emphasizes the rapidity of her movements, telling how she journeyed "with so great swiftness that you would think her a bird." His style catches the infection. He explains his cursory treatment of the route through Syria and Northern Phœnicia by stating that he has no desire to mention any but Biblical sites. Of these, indeed, some sixty are noted in the entire narrative, including, besides cities of importance, such minor places as the two Bethorons, Nob, Ajalon, Engedi, Tekoa, and Adummim. The references to "holy places" and relics are hardly more numerous than those of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, including only the Cross, the Tomb, its rolling stone, the column of scourging, the church on Mt. Zion, and the place where the Holy Ghost descended on the disciples.

After her two years of wandering, Paula settled in Bethlehem, where, until her death, in A.D. 404, she passed her time in good deeds, founding monasteries

and caring for pilgrims. From this quiet retreat she and her daughter Eustochium wrote to their friend Marcella, said to have been the first Roman Lady to embrace the monastic life. In this letter we find drawn a contrast between the worldliness, etiquette, and backbiting which had crept into Christian society in Jerusalem and the peaceful life of Bethlehem. "In the village of Christ," wrote the Roman ladies, "all is rusticity and, except for psalms, silence. Whithersoever you turn yourself, the plowman, holding the plow-handle, sings Alleluia; the perspiring reaper diverts himself with psalms; and the vine-dresser sings some of the songs of David while he trims the vine with his curved knife. These are the ballads of this country, these are the love-songs, as they are commonly called; these are whistled by the shepherds and are the implement of the husbandmen. Indeed, we do not think of what we are doing, or of how we look, but see only that for which we are longing."[1] The trip which it is proposed to take through the country is sketched with persuasiveness and poetic feeling. By a daring license of speech the writers promise Marcella that she shall witness the very deeds of the Saviour. "We shall come to the Sea of Gennesareth," they say, "and shall see the five and four thousand men in the desert fed with five and seven loaves. . . . We shall also see Capharnaum, that familiar witness of the miracles of our Lord, and likewise the whole of Galilee. And then, accompanied by Christ, when we have returned to

[1] Letter of Paula, etc., VI.

our grotto, after passing Silo and Bethel, and the other places in which the banners of the church have been raised, . . . we will sing constantly, we will often weep, we will pray without ceasing, and wounded by the dart of our Saviour, we will repeat together, 'I have found Him whom my soul sought for, I will hold him fast and will not let him go!'"[1] With this jubilant note ends the letter of the Roman ladies. Great must have been Marcella's sense of duty to her Roman poor, as it was strong enough to resist the appeal. This note rings as clear and true to-day as it rang fifteen centuries ago. The accounts of Paula's wanderings tell us little in regard to the land of her day that we cannot gather from the Onomasticon, but they are precious, indeed, as witnesses to the spiritual ideals which inspired the many pilgrims who came in contact with Jerome.[2]

The anonymous lady of rank, whose generally accepted identification with St. Silvia of Aquitaine we shall assume, and whose journeyings, wider of extent indeed than Paula's, show the same pious zeal, does not mention Jerome. But her account, as it has come down to us, is fragmentary and it is not safe to assume that she did not know him. From internal evidence it has been gathered that her travels were taken somewhere between the years A.D. 379 and 388.[3] The manuscript begins in the

[1] VIII.

[2] For the influence of Jerome in attracting pilgrims to the Holy Land, and their great increase during this period, see Beazley's *Dawn of Modern Geography*, pp. 81, 82 and 87.

[3] See P. P. T., vol. i; Introduction by Dr. Bernard; also Beazley, chap. ii, pp. 73-80.

middle of a sentence just as Silvia has gone through the Pass of Winds, and gazing across the plain where the Israelites encamped, sees at the other end the splendid roseate mass of Sinai. Crossing the plain she spends Saturday night at the monastery, and on Sunday makes the ascent of the Mountain. "These mountains," she says, "are ascended with infinite labor, because you do not go up gradually by a spiral path (as we say "like a snail shell") but you go straight up, as if up the face of a wall, and you must go straight down each mountain until you arrive at the foot of that central one which is strictly called Sinai. . . . At the fourth hour we arrived at the peak of Sinai, the Holy Mountain of God where the Law was given. . . . In that place there is now a church—not a large one, because the place itself, the summit of the Mount, is not large, but the church has in itself a large measure of grace. . . . As I was passing out of the church the priest gave us gifts of blessing from the place—that is, gifts of the fruits grown on the mountain. For though the Holy Mount of Sinai itself is all rocky, so that it has not a bush on it, yet down near the foot of the mountains . . . there is a little plot of ground; here the holy monks diligently plant shrubs and lay out orchards and fields; and hard by they place their own cells, so that they may get, as if from the soil of the mountain itself, some fruit which they may seem to have cultivated with their own hands."[1]

This quotation from Silvia's careful if some-

[1] P. P. T., vol. i, S. Silvia, pp. 13–14.

what prolix account may serve to indicate how much valuable material must have perished with the loss of the first part of her manuscript, which doubtless dwelt upon Jerusalem with the same fulness of detail, a fulness not attained by any other Western writer before the Crusades. Probably other parts of the land had also been described at length. We read that after her return to Jerusalem, *via* Egypt, she made an excursion to Mt. Nebo, where she was shown the grave of Moses, and, later, another to the land of Ausitis or Uz. A traveller, whose enthusiasm for the Bible led her to cross the Jordan in search of the place where Job once lived, would surely not only have visited but dwelt upon all the sites made memorable by the life of Christ. Moreover, she had ample leisure for a thorough examination, as we learn that, when she finally left Jerusalem for home, she had been in the country three years. A further indication of the explicitness with which she probably described the Holy City is shown by her devoting the last half of the portions of the narrative preserved to a description of the services in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

On her home journey she made a wide *détour* from Antioch, crossing the Euphrates into Mesopotamia, where she was shown the Memorial of St. Thomas at Edessa, and the house of Abram at Haran. Everywhere Silvia was treated as a person of consideration. Her letter, moreover, shows a knowledge of the world, a breadth of view, which differentiate her from the ordinary

pilgrim.[1] While she puts down the legends and fables told her, she sees things as they are, and records carefully what she sees. The manuscript containing these precious fragments remained unknown till 1883, when the learned Italian librarian Gamurrini discovered it in Arezzo, Tuscany. It is quite conceivable that a similar chance may have preserved in some obscure convent a complete manuscript. That its discovery would materially add to our knowledge of Palestine, as it was late in the fourth century, has, I hope, been sufficiently shown.[2]

The continued popularity of pilgrimage in the fifth century is evidenced by many historical references, but with the possible exception of the Onomasticon, whose editor, Jerome, died in A.D. 420, only one document of any geographical importance has been preserved.[3] This is the Epitome of Saint Eucherius usually identified with that Eucherius who was Bishop of Lyons from A.D. 434 to 450.[4] The author, who treats only of "certain Holy Places," does not claim

[1] "Had all our accounts been written by persons of her own class, who had enjoyed more of the profane learning and worldly enlightenment lacking in many of the pilgrims, we should have had a very different light on the path we are following." (Beazley, p. 79.)

[2] For a contemporary account of the customs and religion of the Arabs, and of the life led by the monks of Mt. Sinai, see "Nili Monachi Eremitæ Narrationes quibus cædes Monochorum Montis Sinai et captivatis Theoduli ejus filii describuntur." (Narratio Tertia (*c.* A.D. 400) found in Migne's Patrologia Latina, Vol. 79, cols. 483 ff.)

[3] Descriptio Parrochiæ Hierusalem (*c.* 460) is merely a list of the churches subject to the four Metropolitan Sees of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. (See Beazley, p. 93.)

[4] P. P. T., vol. ii.

to write from personal observation, but "what he had learned either by conversation or by reading" had been carefully digested, and was clearly expressed in a short letter containing barely 900 words, to the Priest Faustinus. The author has almost nothing to say about relics. His description of Jerusalem, his account of the course of the Jordan, and his mention of a few other places in the Holy Land, which he says extends from Dan to Beersheba, show an elementary instinct for topography. Indeed, this brief tract is invaluable to a study of the ancient walls of Jerusalem. Mt. Zion, he states, was at the time included in the city, though it used to be outside. Siloam, however, was extra mural. Here are clews to help in dating the famous mosaic, serving as the floor of a church in Madeba beyond Jordan, which was discovered in 1897.[1] Worshippers in this early Byzantine church knelt upon a map of the Holy Land, pictured in white and colored tesseræ. Visitors to-day find it in some places destroyed, in others much mutilated, but still preserving many precious details, especially in regard to Jerusalem. Unfortunately, in the place where Siloam should occur, the tesseræ are wanting, but the orientation of the south wall, at the point where it breaks off, does not favor the inclusion of the Pool, while Zion is plainly within the city limits. As we know from Antoninus Martyr that Siloam was included in the city by Eudocia, who resided in Jerusalem 449–461,

[1] See excavations at Jerusalem by Bliss and Dickie, p. 308; also Jérusalem d'après la Mosaïque de Mâdaba by R. P. Lagrange, Revue Biblique, July, 1897.

the Mosaic appears to antedate her visit. It must post-date the visit of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, in whose time the Zion wall referred to by Eucherius was not in existence.

In contrast to the brief records of the fifth century, the accounts which have come down to us from the age of Justinian are rich indeed. About 530 we have the anonymous Breviary, or Short Description of Jerusalem, and the tract of Theodosius dealing with the Holy Land in general. About 560 were written the full accounts of Procopius of Cæsarea, relative to the buildings of Justinian, and the Itinerary of Antoninus Martyr.[1] This century is remarkable for the development of the taste for relics, practically ignored by Eucherius. The Breviary enumerates the reed, the spear, the sponge, the cup, etc., shown as the very articles connected with our Lord's Passion. Theodosius describes the imprints left by His countenance, hands, and arms on the Pillar of Scourging, while Antoninus Martyr anticipates the habits of the modern traveller by scratching the names of his parents on the couch of Christ at Cana. After these writers, relics and legendary sites multiply till, in the time of Felix Fabri, A.D. 1483, we find the place pointed out where St. John administered the sacrament to the Blessed Virgin!

It has been suggested that the Breviary, the tract of Theodosius, and the Narrative of Antoninus Martyr owe many of their statements to a common origin, perhaps an authorized guide to the Holy Places.[2]

[1] For these four writers, see P. P. T., vol. ii.

[2] See introduction to the Breviary by Wilson, P. P. T., vol. ii.

The Breviarius de Hierosolyma contains only about six hundred words and is strictly confined to Jerusalem. Theodosius's tract is a general hash of eastern geography, with an especial reference to Syria and Palestine, about forty-four scriptural sites being mentioned. The absence of any personal touches and the gross inaccuracies in fixing sites suggest that the author, in regard to whom nothing is known, was no more than an unintelligent compiler. A certain order is at first preserved, but later there is much skipping about. Long distances are given in miles; short distances, as between sites in Jerusalem, in paces.

Antoninus Martyr of Placentia, however, is not concerned with geography in general, but devotes himself to describing with much detail his own pilgrimage, remarkable for the extent of ground it covers. Landing at Antaradus (opposite to the Island of Ruad, the home of the ancient Arvites), he followed the coast to Acre and Mt. Carmel; thence he turned inland, visiting Nazareth, Tabor, the Sea of Galilee, the sources of the Jordan, Gadara, Scythopolis, Sebastia (the real Samaria), and Neapolis (Shechem, but confused by the writer with Samaria.)[1] At this place he appears to have left the direct highway to Jerusalem, and to have struck the Jordan Valley, following it to the Dead Sea. Jericho, the field of the Lord at Galgala (Gilgal), the tree of Zacchæus, and the Fountain of Elisha are touched upon. Ascending to Jerusalem, he pro-

[1] There is much confusion in the text as to the exact order in which the places in Galilee and Samaria were visited.

ceeded thence to Hebron and so on to Mt. Sinai *via* Eleutheropolis, Ascalon, Gaza, and Ailah. Before returning to Palestine he made a long tour in Egypt. On his home journey he visited Damascus, Heliopolis (Baalbec), and Antioch. The original account leaves him on the banks of the Euphrates, and we are not told how this indefatigable traveller got home.[1]

Antoninus appears to have written from memory, after his journey was over. That this was not strong enough to bear the tremendous strain put upon it, he frankly acknowledges in his confession that he had forgotten many of the relics shown him on Mt. Zion (*c.* 22). But he surely remembered a sufficient number! At Nazareth were exhibited the book from which Christ learned the alphabet, and the bench where he worked as Carpenter (*c.* 5). At Diocæsarea he adored the pail and basket of Mary (*c.* 4). At Gethsemane he saw the three couches on which the Saviour reclined (*c.* 17). His memory failed him, however, as to the exact order of the towns between Heliopolis and Emesa. But his confounding Neapolis with Samaria (*c.* 6), Cæsarea Philippi with Cæsarea on the coast (*c.* 46), and Azotus (Ashdod) with Lydda or Diospolis (*c.* 26) must be set down to sheer ignorance. His topsy-turvy account of the waters of the Dead Sea (*c.* 10), on which he declares nothing will float, is hard to explain on any ground.

That Antoninus could observe carefully when he so

[1] The final sentence, briefly mentioning the return to Placentia, appears to be a later addition.

desired is shown by several examples, hence we are tantalized by "the things left out." For instance, the splendid ruins of Baalbec are passed without a word. However, interspersed with absurd trivialities[1] are some notes still of value to-day. Chief among these are his accounts of the "water running under the street" leading to the Pool of Siloam, and of the Church above the Pool (23–24). This street, some twenty-five feet wide, with its curb and manholes leading down to a well-constructed drain, and the church, whose altar was directly above the entrance to the Siloam Tunnel, were excavated under fields of cauliflower by Mr. Dickie and myself in the year 1896.[2] From the Bishop of Berytus (Beyrout) he learned that some 30,000 persons had perished in the earthquake which had recently shaken the Phœnician coast (*c.* 1). He relates that the people of Samaria had such a hatred for Christ that they burned with straw the footsteps of pilgrims and refused to receive coins from them till they were cast into water (*c.* 8). At the Fountain of Elisha, near Jericho, he found vines and cedars, as well as palm-trees from which he procured dates to be taken home as presents (*c.* 14).

When the next visitor who has left any record of his travels visited Palestine the conditions of pilgrimage had greatly altered. Arculf, Bishop of Gaul, found the Holy Land under the sway of Islam. In

[1] Note his statement (*c.* 9), that the dew in the Jordan valley fell like rain and was collected by doctors, who cooked food in it for the hospices!

[2] Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894–97, chap. v.

A.D. 615, twenty-two years before the surrender of Jerusalem to the Caliph Omar, the churches of Constantine, grouped about the Holy Sepulchre, had been destroyed or greatly injured during the raid of Chosroes II., the Persian. These had been repaired or rebuilt by Modestus after Heraclius restored the Holy Land to Christian rule in 627. But when Arculf visited them about the year 670, it was only by sufferance of the Moslem rulers who had controlled the country for a generation. We are bound to note, however, that Arculf's narrative practically ignores the Moslem *régime.* From the absence of reference to fanatic obstruction we may infer that while the Western Pilgrims of the latter part of the seventh century must have keenly felt the change of rulers, their suffering was sentimental rather than practical. The loss of the land naturally put a stop to the rush of pilgrimage, but those daring souls who attempted it under the Ommayad Caliphs were rewarded by finding things not at all as evil as they must have feared. Still flushed with its first rapid and victorious onslaught upon Christendom, still inspired with the hope of conquering the world, Islam could well afford to show a tolerant spirit in the land where its supremacy was unquestioned.

The account which we have of Arculf's pilgrimage is due to a happy accident.[1] On his return voyage the good Bishop's ship was driven by storm on to the west coast of Scotland. After much suffering he found refuge with Adamnan, Abbot of Hy at Iona, who not only listened eagerly to the tales of

[1] P. P. T., vol. iii.

his new friend's adventures but took these down on wax tablets and later committed them to parchment. The account was widely circulated, especially in its abbreviated form published by the Venerable Bede. Adamnan's Latin style is both involved and prolix. However indicative of personal modesty, his constant iteration of the phrases: "Arculf the writer of the above-mentioned Holy Places," "Arculf of whom I have spoken," "The sainted Arculf who has been so often mentioned" becomes both tiresome and absurd. That the Abbot had pretensions to learning is illustrated by his claiming to insert into Arculf's account some excerpts from Jerome. What these pretensions were worth may be gathered from the statement that it was Nebuchadnezzar who joined the Island of Tyre to the main-land.

An elementary regard for form is shown by the divisions of the account into three books, the first dealing with Jerusalem and vicinity; the second with other sacred sites in the Holy Land, with a reference also to Egypt; and the last mainly with Constantinople. The chief interest in the first book lies in the detailed account of the buildings grouped about the Holy Sepulchre after the restoration by Modestus. A plan, originally made on a wax tablet, very rude and not drawn to scale, is given. Indeed, there appears to have been little pretence to accuracy, as in regard to the church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, the narrative states, "A drawing of this round church has been given below, however unworthily it may have been drawn." The other plans in the work are those of the church on Mt. Zion and of the church

above Jacob's Well, near Shechem.[1] Arculf's testimony as to the actual existence in his day of a cave in the Round Church of the Holy Sepulchre, is valuable. "The Cabin of our Lord's Tomb," he writes, "is in no way ornamented on the inside and shows even to this day over all its surface traces of the tools which the hewers or excavators used in their work; the colour of that rock both of the Tomb and of the Sepulchre is not one, but two colours seem to have been intermingled, namely red and white, whence also that rock appears to be two-coloured."[2] We should note also Arculf's reference to the column in the middle of Jerusalem, marking the centre of the World—a feature that became prominent in the later wheel-map schemes.

In Palestine Arculf visited the ordinary sites, but these are not always described in itinerary order. For example, the narrative leaps from Mt. Tabor to Damascus and then at once back to Tyre. He was accompanied for part of the trip by a guide called Peter, a Burgundian Monk, well acquainted with the land—too well acquainted perhaps, for, like the dragoman of to-day, he sometimes hurried poor Arculf away from a place before he was ready to move on. Still, our pilgrim was able to make little notes on the natural features of the land; unlike most of the early pilgrims, his eyes were not closed to everything but sacred sites. His readers are permitted to contrast the rough and rocky ground, extending north from Jerusalem, with the fertile country stretching

[1] Arculf's plans are the earliest known.

[2] Book I, chap. iv.

toward Cæsarea on the coast. He notes the woods encircling the Sea of Galilee and the well-watered olive-gardens of Damascus. But all through the land Arculf remains a credulous pilgrim. He puts faith in the story that all attempts to keep vaulted the church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives were frustrated by a violent blast of wind blowing at mid-day on every anniversary of our Lord's Ascension. Did he not himself witness this dreadful storm one Ascension Day?[1] Perhaps it is Adamnan, not Arculf, who should be credited with an elementary use of Biblical criticism. In naming a church near Bethany, built on the spot "where Christ addressed the Apostles," the narrative compares the various gospel accounts with a view to determining what address is indicated, when it was given, and to what individuals it was addressed.[2]

Of the pilgrimage of St. Willibald two accounts were written. He is the first English pilgrim of whom we have any adequate record, and the story of his pilgrimage is the only one of importance which has come down to us from the eighth century. Willibald was worthy of his high connection. Nephew to St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, and a relative of Winna, King of Wessex, he himself, at the age of forty-one, was consecrated Bishop of Eichstadt, in Bavaria, where by his missionary labors for forty-five years he converted a wild land of forests into a spiritual garden, "shining with churches, presbyteries and relics of the saints." He died in A.D. 786, and hence must have been quite a young man in

[1] Book I, chap. xxiii. [2] Book I, chap. xxv.

the year 722, when he made his pilgrimage to Palestine. Of the two accounts called respectively the Hodoeporicon and the Itinerary, the former is to be preferred as a conscientious record, though the latter is pleasanter reading.[1] The Hodoeporicon was written from Willibald's dictation by one of his relatives, an English nun of the Abbey of Heidenheim. The anonymous author of the Itinerary was a companion of Willibald's pilgrimage, but he appears to mix up his own recollections with the nun's account as well as with the results of his reading in ecclesiastical history. Still, he is valuable in furnishing, at times, independent testimony to the accuracy of the other narrative and in filling up some *lacunæ* occurring in it.

Willibald landed at Tharratæ or Antaradus, opposite the Island Ruad. Proceeding to Emesa (Hums), he was there arrested as a spy and detained till the Commander of the Faithful was convinced of his peaceful intentions. Willibald thus had some difficulty in entering the country, and later he found it hard to get his passports for leaving, but his intermediate wanderings appear to have been little disturbed by government interference. True, at Tyre, our traveller was bound while his luggage was undergoing examination by the customs officials, but that their severity was justified, though not rewarded, is proved by the Saint's confession that he had successfully smuggled some balsam inside a hollow cane, placed in a large calabash, which appeared to contain nothing but petroleum.[2] These wanderings

[1] See P. P. T., vol. iii, for both accounts. [2] Hod., xxviii.

were extensive, bringing him four times to Jerusalem. This was first reached by a somewhat long *détour via* Damascus, Nazareth, the Sea of Galilee, Cæsarea Philippi, the Jordan Valley and the Jericho Plain. He entered it again after an excursion to Bethlehem, Gaza, and Hebron. When for the third time he saw it, he had visited the Phœnician coast and had crossed the Lebanon to Damascus. A fourth entry was made after a trip to Emesa, visited for the second time, and to Damascus, visited for the third time. Bidding farewell to the Holy City, he proceeded through Samaria, crossed the plain of Esdraelon, and finally embarked from Tyre to Constantinople. When I state that the entire description of these wanderings, as found in the Hodoeporicon, can be read aloud in twenty minutes, it will be gathered that they are not given with much detail. Brief references are made to thirty-one Scriptural sites, but long stretches of the land are passed over without comment. Still, as a connecting link between Arculf and Bernard, the two narratives are of value, especially in their notices of churches and sacred sites.

Our account of the pre-Crusading pilgrims closes with the brief Itinerary of Bernard the Wise, written about A.D. 870.[1] The tenth century has furnished us with no history of Palestinian travels, and the journey of Altmann, Bishop of Passau, made in 1065, is preserved only in extracts made by several authors and found in the Acta Sanctorum. The brief tract, "How the City of Jerusalem is Situ-

[1] P. P. T., vol. iii.

ated,"[1] probably antedates the first Crusade, but it is not composed in narrative form, being rather a sort of impersonal guide-book to the holy places, though the anonymous writer testifies that he has seen them all.

Unlike his predecessors, the Monk Bernard entered Palestine from the south, and, also unlike them, he suffered from the severity of Moslem rule expressing itself in cupidity. The comparatively tolerant sway of the Ommayad Caliphs had, in 750, given place to the iron grip of the Abbassides, who soon began to see in the new Frankish Kingdom a potential check on their supremacy. Here is a tale of Bukhshîsh that might be related of many parts of the Turkish Empire to-day. Letters recommending Bernard and his two fellow-monks to the Governor of Alexandria were not recognized till the latter was persuaded by a bribe to write similar letters to the chief man of Babylonia, by which name middle Egypt went in those days. He in turn paid not attention to these passports until the same golden persuasion was used, when he also wrote letters. These proved to be of more effect, though later no departure from a given town could be effected without payment for a new permit. After all this detail in regard to the trouble in getting to Palestine, we are prepared to read a full account of the Land. But this is not forthcoming. We learn briefly that Gaza was approached by the desert—"white like the earth in the time of snow"—and then that Jerusalem was reached *via* Ramleh

[1] P. P. T., vol. i: Qualiter Civitas Jerusalem sita est.

and Nicopolis. The ordinary sites in and about the Holy City are hardly more than catalogued. Galilee and Samaria remained unvisited. We may note, however, the early mention of the Holy Fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the Saturday before Easter.

For the lack of information in regard to Syria and Palestine, from Western sources, between the Monk Bernard and the period of the Crusades, we have abundant compensation in the wealth of material furnished by Arab and Persian historians and geographers. The extent and value of this material was not properly appreciated by the scholars of Europe and America until the middle of the last century, while its systematization was not effected till the year 1890, when that brilliant Arabic scholar, Guy le Strange, brother-in-law to the mystic genius, Laurence Oliphant, published his "Palestine under the Moslems." This work extracts the essence from twenty-four writers, from Khurdadbih, A.D. 864, to Mujir-ed-Dîn, A.D. 1496. Of these twenty-four authors, Ritter's list of authorities mentions only seven, while Robinson in his bibliography, which claims to be fairly complete up to about the close of the fifteenth century, refers only to four.

As the most original work done by the Moslems along geographical lines falls strictly within the province of this lecture, namely, the pre-Crusading period, we may appropriately illustrate the series here by considering two writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries respectively. In a general way these are typical of all their co-religionists. As le Strange

points out in his first chapter, the geographical writers are closely linked together. Desiring to make his work as complete as possible, each incorporates from earlier authors all that he can gather, adding the results of his own personal observations, in case he happens to be a traveller. We may be pardoned, therefore, if we first briefly review the entire series though it encroaches on the ground of the next lecture.

An impulse was given to geographical learning by the translation into Arabic of the geography of Claudius Ptolemy early in the seventh century, under the patronage of the Caliph Al Mamûn. The new school of geographical science then formed was thus linked on to the old Greek learning. But the light reflected from the ancient world was not in turn reflected by the new Europe till after the Crusades. For centuries, to change the figure, the steadily increasing stream of Arab science did not stir the stagnant pools of the West. The first systematic geography treating of Palestine is that of Istakhri (951), enlarged and emended by Ibn Haukal (978). While this is an improvement upon the mere Road Books or Revenue Lists of their predecessors, yet it has not the extent of information of the work of Mukaddasi (985), one of the authors reserved for our consideration. Passing for the moment over Nasîr-i-Khusrau (1047) and over Idrîsi (1154), perhaps the Arab geographer the best known to the Western world, as well as over others of less importance, we come to the geographical lexicon of Yakût, completed in 1225. This vast work, which describes

in alphabetical order every town and place of which the author could obtain any information, covers in the printed Arab text close on to 4,000 pages, large octavo, and places him easily at the head of all Arab geographers. Yakût is the seventeenth on Le Strange's list; the seven which conclude it are of less importance. However, in Dimashki, *c.* 1300, Abu-el-Fidâ, 1321, Ibn Batûtah, 1355, and Jemal-ed-Dîn, 1351, many interesting details may be found. Compared with the parallel Christian writers these authors appear to be masters of science in the presence of schoolboys. Not only is their material far fuller, but this is better digested, more systematically arranged, and, as a rule, presented in a purer literary style. True, from a modern point of view, they lack in precision of diction as well as in an orderly treatment of detail. But the difference between Idrîsi and Theodrich—contemporaries of the twelfth century—and between Yakût and Jacques de Vitry —contemporaries of the thirteenth century—is wide and deep. In point of time Mukaddasi is separated from Willibald by only two centuries; in point of development he appears to have outstripped him by more than five. It is by such concrete comparisons that we are made to realize that the morning dawn of Europe coincided with the high noon of Islam.

Turn we now to treat with some detail two Moslem geographers. Shams-ad-Dîn, the Sun of Religion, commonly known as Mukaddasi—that is, the Jerusalemite—was born in the Holy City in A.D. 946.[1] His geography, published in 985, was the result of

[1] P. P. T., vol. iii.

twenty years' preparation, during which he travelled through the Moslem Empire, measuring distances, searching boundaries of Provinces, practising dialects and studying religions. His chapter devoted to Syria and Palestine comprises only a tenth part of his work. An admirable introduction to this, containing a rhetorical sketch of the chief places in these lands, is followed by a description of the boundaries of Syria and of its six districts. The section entitled "Notices of the chief towns," and occupying one-third of the whole chapter, contains a variety of miscellaneous information. Climate is touched upon: Damascus is said to be scorching, Jerusalem neither very hot nor very cold; at Jericho the heat is excessive, while the author bids those who find the Angel of Death delaying to try the evil climate of Segor at the south end of the Dead Sea Valley. Like the modern inhabitants of Syria, who differentiate the qualities of two fountains which seem to the Westerner to be of equal excellence, he pays particular attention to the supply of drinking-water. The water of Jericho (Er-Riha) is lightest and best in all Islam; in Acre the wells are deep and salty: the poor go thirsty and strangers seek in vain; at Beisan the water is heavy of digestion; at Tiberias the lake-water is light of digestion. The characteristics of the people are noted. At Aleppo they are cultivated, rich, and endowed with understanding; at Damascus, turbulent; the men of Hums are witless, of 'Ammân illiterate. In speaking of his fellow-townsmen he seems to be impelled by the conflicting motives of loyalty and criticism. When moved by

loyalty, he says: "In Jerusalem are all manner of learned men and doctors, and for this the hearts of men of intelligence yearn towards her."[1] But later, in enumerating the disadvantages of the place, he says, "Learned men are few; the mosque is devoid of either congregation or learned men."[2] In his introductory chapter to the whole work he declares that in Jerusalem "one can find neither defect nor deficiency. . . . The people are noted for piety and sincerity." And yet in the more detailed account we read that "the oppressed have no succor, the weak are molested and the rich envied." Perhaps the explanation for these discrepancies lies in the statement that "everywhere the Christians and the Jews have the upper hand." Perhaps he means to attribute the virtues of Jerusalem to the Mohammedans, its defects to the Christians. At any rate here is valuable testimony to the independent condition of the Christians of Jerusalem before the fierce persecution of the mad Caliph Al-Hâkim at the beginning of the next century.

In the notes on the towns we naturally find much attention paid to the mosques. On the other hand, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is referred to only in the incidental statement that lest its magnificence should dazzle the true believers the splendid mosques of Jerusalem and Ramleh were erected. These, together with the mosque at Damascus, are described in full.

Contrary to our modern ideas of arrangement, the chapter closes with a section on the general features and peculiarities of the land. It should be empha-

[1] P. P. T., vol. iii, Mukaddasi, p. 35. [2] Ibid., p. 37.

sized that Mukaddasi is the first to recognize the four physical belts into which it is naturally divided: the maritime plain, the central mountain range, the depression of the Jordan, and the Eastern highlands.[1] In this systematized generalization he anticipates by many centuries the scientific observers of the West. Among the many subjects treated are the rivers, mountains, minerals, revenue, commerce, manners and customs, religion and government. To the chapter is appended a table of distances along the chief roads.

Of a somewhat different order is the other Moslem work to be noticed, namely, the diary of the Persian, Nasîr-i-Khusrau.[2] In 1047 he passed four months in Syria and Palestine, on his way to Mecca, where he hoped that the influences of the Holy Place might cure his habit of drink. His journal abounds in dates and distances. Crossing the Euphrates he arrived at Manbij, the ancient Hierapolis, on January 4th, and thence proceeded to Aleppo. Time forbids our following his itinerary through Hamath and Hums to Tripoli and thence along the coast to Ramleh, or our tracing his inland excursion to Tiberias from Acre. A few examples must suffice to indicate his careful observation. He has a keen eye for flowers, noting that the plain between Hamath and 'Arka was white with narcissus, and that at Jebeil he met a boy carrying two roses, though it was only March 5th. Archæology also interests him. At Beyrout he measures a splendid ancient arch, under which the road-way passed, remarking that "in vari-

[1] P. 85. [2] P. P. T., vol. iv.

ous parts of Syria there may be seen some five hundred thousand columns, or capitals and shafts of columns, of which no one now knows either the maker or can say for what purpose they were hewn, or whence they were brought."[1] A sense of humor seems to underlie his statement that the governor of Tiberias, desiring to purify the lake-water from which the people drank, diverted the sewage, which usually flowed into it, with the result that the waters became fetid, sweetness not returning till the sewers were again allowed to open into it.[2] In Jerusalem his interest indeed centres in the Mosque of Omar, but the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is not treated as cursorily as it is by Mukaddasi.[3] In the course of his description we learn that it had been given over to pillage by the Caliph Hâkim, but that it had been restored by the Emperor of Constantinople. Before proceeding to Mecca, Nasîr made an excursion to Hebron, where he carefully examined the tombs of the Patriarchs.[4]

[1] P. 9. [2] P. 16.

[3] Note, however, his adoption of the wilful perversion of the word "Kayâmeh" (resurrection) to "Kumâmeh" (dunghill), pp. 59–60.

[4] For other Russian pilgrims besides Daniel mentioned in this lecture, see Drevne-russkoe palomnitche-stvo (Early Russian Pilgrims), vol. i, p. 77, vol. ii, pp. 66 ff.; St. Petersburg, 1896–97. Also the chapter on the Pilgrims in the Holy Land in the Time of the Primitive Church, in Lebedev's Ecclesiastical History—Tzerkovno-istoritcheskiia poviestvovaniia, pp. 183–222; Moscow, 1900.

LECTURE III

THE CRUSADERS AND AFTER

WITH the entry of the Crusaders into Jerusalem a new impetus was given to travel in Palestine. From 1099 to 1187—almost an entire century—pilgrims found the Holy Land under Christian rule. No longer were they entering a hostile country, held by masters professing a hostile religion. At the beginning of this period, while the conquest of the land was still in progress, and toward its close when Saladin, rapid and destructive as a forest fire, was flashing to and fro between Cairo and Damascus, bent on the complete reconquest of Palestine, the country was in a condition more or less disturbed, but during the intervening years, general quiet and security prevailed. No wonder that the spirit of pilgrimage which had fired the Christians of the West early in the fourth century, and which was dimmed, though never extinguished, during the four and a half centuries of Moslem rule, now flamed forth anew. Nor was the Christian ardor quenched by the immense loss of territory following that fatal 5th of July, when on the Horns of Hattîn, the traditional site of the Mount of Beatitudes, Saladin obtained possession of the Holy Cross. Pursuing his advantage, in three months he had taken Jerusalem,

and in three years most of the cities of the Franks had, one after another, fallen before his vehement attacks until nothing remained to them except Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch. But the woful tale of disaster shook Christian Europe, and, led by Richard of England and Philip of France, the armies of the Third Crusade captured Cyprus, destined to remain in Christian hands till 1486; retook Acre on July 12, 1191; avenged the Battle of Hattîn at Arsûf, on September 7th, where Saladin met an awful defeat; and during the next year so harried that magnificent enemy, who harried them in turn, that in the summer of 1192 both parties were glad to agree to a truce, the terms of which continued practically in force for a century. Ascalon was to remain dismantled for three years from September 2d; Jaffa and the plains reverted to the Christians, and, though the Holy City remained in Moslem hands, pilgrims were allowed free access to the Holy City. Soon every important seaport of Syria was regained, and certain inland places came again under Christian rule. Hence, until the final loss of Acre on May 18, 1292, pilgrims were sure of a safe entry into the Holy Land and could visit Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth by especial agreement with the Moslems. Burchard of Mt. Zion, who wrote about 1283, visited these places and Hebron, Samaria, and the Jordan district as well. But how inaccessible Eastern Palestine had become is illustrated by his identifying the two famous Crusading fortresses of Crac and Montreal, which fell after the loss of Jerusalem, not only with each other but with Petra in the Wilderness,

placed by him at Kerak, the real site of the fortress of Crac. Thus soon were the trans-Jordanic possessions of the Crusaders forgotten. After the final expulsion of the Franks, pilgrimages became more and more difficult. Felix Fabri, whose second visit to Palestine occurred in 1483, was kept in the port of Jaffa for five days before his party could get safe-conduct to Jerusalem; he made the circuit of its walls in the heat of a July day, to avoid molestation by the Saracens, who took their siesta at noontime; he recounts numerous instances of extortion and persecution; and finally gave up his longed-for trip to Galilee, in accordance with the advice of the Father Guardian of the Convent of Mt. Zion, who declared that the trip was even more dangerous than the journey to Sinai.

Thus, as far as opportunity went, the Jubilee century for the Western traveller to the Holy Land was the twelfth. From the Moslem conquest in 636 to the present day no period has presented a more tempting chance to the Christian geographer and archæologist. All Palestine, east and west, called to him, but he did not answer the cry for the simple reason that he was not yet born. Inspired by the Crusading spirit, Europe had shaken off some of its lethargy, but this still clogged pure intellectual effort. The writers of this century confine themselves, as a rule, to a description of the Holy Places which they have venerated—Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Shechem, Nazareth, the Sea of Galilee, with a few intermediate points along the routes—and to a brief catalogue of other places not visited by them, or else

compile a sort of impersonal guide-book, containing, indeed, more names than the personal itineraries, but, like most of these, lacking a firm grasp of broad geographical outlines. The earliest known mediæval map of Palestine[1] was prepared by Burchard of Mt. Zion, who wrote in 1283, almost a century after the loss of Jerusalem, only nine years before the final expulsion of the Franks, and thus at a time when identification of sites by personal investigation had become a matter of great difficulty. The guide-book bearing the pseudonym of Fetellus appears to have been written about A.D. 1130, in the heyday of Latin power, but though the writer mentions more Scriptural place-names than any other author of the century, these amount only to 110 over against 155 mentioned by Burchard. However, we hasten to add, as far as critical faculty and true geographical knowledge go, there is not much to choose between the writers of the twelfth century and those of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, though the latter are to be preferred in matters of order and arrangement. Accordingly, before taking up, one by one, the prominent authors of these four centuries, we may with profit consider some of the principal mistakes in Scriptural identification obtaining during this period.[2]

[1] See p. 108. This was apparently the first detailed map. For earlier attempts at Cartography, see Röhricht's Bibliography.

[2] For the following references, see P. P. T., vol. iv, Sæwulf, Abbot Daniel; vol. v, Fetellus, John of Würzburg, Theoderich, Phocas ; vols. vii–x, Felix Fabri (two volumes in four); vol. xi, Jacques de Vitry; vol. xii, Burchard, Marino Sanuto, von Suchem.

One would think that no intelligent inquirer could fail to identify either the Abana or the Pharpar, "rivers of Damascus," with the Barada, which, rising in a plain of the Anti-Libanus, brings life and fertility to the city of Damascus, and then disappears in the plain to the east. Modern scholarship regards the Barada as identical with the Abana of Scripture, identifying the Pharpar with one of the smaller local streams. But Fetellus (*c.* 1130),[1] John of Würzburg (*c.* 1160),[2] and Theoderich (*c.* 1172)[3] represent both these streams as flowing into the Mediterranean, the former through the plain of Archas (placed by Fetellus near Tripoli), and the latter west of Antioch, being confused, evidently, with the Orontes. The latter error is followed by Marino Sanuto, 1321.[4] The absurd story at least as old as the time of Jerome, that the Jordan took its name from two sources near the foot of the Lebanon, called Jor and Dan, is repeated, with variations throughout the whole period. The Abbot Daniel represents these streams as issuing separately from the Sea of Galilee.[5] Fetellus[6] and John of Würzburg[7] appear to identify Dan with the Yarmuk, or brook Jabbok, which flows into the Jordan south of the Sea of Galilee. Burchard (*c.* 1283)[8] and Marino Sanuto (*c.* 1321)[9] come somewhat nearer the mark in stating that these unite before the gate of the city of Belinas or Cæsarea Philippi. The true relation of the three main sources of the Jordan (the

[1] P. 24. [2] Cap. xxv. [3] Cap. xlix.
[4] Cap. l, p. 2. [5] Cap. lxxvi. [6] P. 26.
[7] Cap. xxv. [8] Cap. iii, p. 23. [9] Cap. iii., p. 19.

Hasbany, and the fountains at Tell-el-Kady and Banias) and their exact points of juncture were left for the great Robinson to discover.[1]

Even more confused are the references to Iturea, the present Jedûr district extending from Mt. Hermon southeastward toward the Leja. Finding the name in History, the mediæval writers appear to have had a blind and uneasy instinct—a geographical instinct, by the way, not confined to mediæval times—that the place must be located somewhere; rightly if possible, but located at any rate. Jacques de Vitry (*c.* 1220) places it in the "Valley called Bakar" (the modern Buka'a, between the Lebanon and the Anti-Libanus).[2] Burchard quotes this as "Iturea proper," but, in recognizing another use of the term, adds two more errors to his list by giving both Iturea and Decapolis as synonyms of Galilee of the Gentiles, whose boundaries he states with general correctness.[3] Accordingly, his list of the ten cities of the Decapolis is quite wrong, with the exception of Bethshean, the one city of this ancient district west of the Jordan. A like inconsistency appears in his use of the term Trachonitis, which to the ancients indicated the district southeast of Iturea, having for its centre the stretch of lava now called the Leja. Trachonitis he first declares is separated from Iturea by the Jordan.[4] Even if he is here referring to his "Iturea proper," the statement is

[1] I. B. R., iii, pp. 396 ff.

[2] Cap. xlvii.

[3] Cap. vi, p. 41; cf. cap. iv, p. 31. Jacques de Vitry also place Decapolis entirely west of the Jordan.

[4] Cap. iii, p. 23.

absurd. But this geographical tangle is further complicated by a later assertion that Trachonitis is yet another synonym for the second Iturea, identified by him, as we have seen, with Galilee of the Gentiles.[1] In some of these mistakes he is followed by Marino Sanuto.[2]

The uncritical attitude of this period may be further illustrated by tracing the identification of Bethel. The Anglo-Saxon pilgrim Sæwulf (*c.* 1103) declares that the site of Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem was anciently called Bethel, and that here Jacob set up a stone.[3] Fetellus (*c.* 1130) calls the temple Bethel,[4] but places the site of Jacob's vision at Luz or Bethel on Mt. Gerizim above Shechem.[5] John of Würzburg (*c.* 1160) has a fine disregard of consistency respecting this event. While dealing with the sites in Samaria, he localizes it at the hypothetical Bethel on Gerizim.[6] In his first reference to the Temple he calls it "this present Bethel;"[7] but later, in discussing a stone there shown as the very stone upon which Jacob laid his head, he declares the incident occurred not here but near the greater Mahumeria, which is probably to be identified with Bîreh, north of Jerusalem and not far from Beitîn, the true site.[8] Theoderich describes the stone in the Temple without opening up the question as to whether it was in place,[9] and later on adopts the Samaritan site.[10] Burchard[11] declares that the Bible gives no support to those

[1] Cap. vi, p. 41. [2] Cap. iii. [3] P. 15. [4] P. 37.
[5] P. 34. [6] Cap. ii. [7] Cap. iii. [8] Cap. iv.
[9] Cap. xv. [10] Cap. xlii. [11] Cap. vii, p. 61.

who would identify Jerusalem with Bethel, unless the Temple was so called because it was the House of God. He quotes the testimony of Jerome that Bethel was twelve miles from Jerusalem on the way to Neapolis (Shechem), thus indicating, apparently, the true site. In this identification he is followed, as usual, by Marino Sanuto.[1]

While many writers quote the Biblical phrase "from Dan to Beersheba" as indicating the extent of the Holy Land, it was long before the latter was given its proper position at Bîr-es-Seba' in the far South. Beersheba is wrongly placed by Jacques de Vitry,[2] Burchard,[3] and Marino Sanuto[4] at Beit Jibrîn, the Greek Eleutheropolis, the Gibelin of the Crusaders. Robinson holds that in the fourteenth century William of Baldinsel[5] and Ludolph von Suchen[6] recognized the true site. Felix Fabri,[7] in 1483, passes Gibelin without comment, but Bîr-es-Seba' appears to have been pointed out to him on his first day's journey southwest from Gaza.[8]

We may now follow with some detail the principal

[1] Cap. iii, p. 17; cf. his map. [2] Cap. xxxvi. [3] Cap. x, p. 96.

[4] Cap. iii, p. 24; cf. Robinson's Researches (ed. of 1856), i, p. 205.

[5] See his Hodoeporicon, v, in the Thesaurus Canisii (ed. Basnage), vol. iv, p. 345.

[6] Cap. xxxvi. As both authors state that leaving "Beersheba" they arrived at Hebron at midday, I am inclined to think that the ruined churches they mention at the former place were at Beit Jibrîn, even though this was out of their direct route. Robinson took twelve hours to ride from Bîr-es-Seba' to Hebron.

[7] P. P. T., Felix Fabri, vol. ii, p. 489.

[8] Other mistakes common to the period are the placing of the Vale of Elah at Wady Beit Hanîna, west of Jerusalem; the locating of Dothan at Khan Jubb Yusif, north of the Sea of Galilee; the identification of Neby Samwîl with Shiloh, etc.

records of pilgrimage from the taking of Jerusalem to the time of Felix Fabri, who, in 1483, ushered in a new era in the domain of descriptive travel. The first record to be noticed, however, is one of military operations rather than of pilgrimage.

The monk Fulchre of Chartres,[1] a companion of Duke Robert of Normandy, in the first Crusade, succeeded in shaking off the pious coma which appears to be an invariable condition of pilgrimage pure and simple. His eyes seem to have been wider open even than those of many of his successors; his topographical notes, though unfortunately brief, are to the point. For example, he corrects the current confusion between Acon (Acre) and Accaron (Ekron), pointing out that the latter is situated between Jamnia and Azotus, near Ascalon. In Jerusalem he describes the construction of the so-called Tower of David. When, in a later excursion with the Duke, he made a tour of the south end of the Dead Sea, about which so much nonsense was usually written, he confines himself to facts—its dimensions, the absence of life from its waters, its bitter taste, which he proves by experiment. His description of the ridge of Usdum, which is a solid mass of rock-salt, is vouched for by Robinson as being most accurate. We may add that this curious feature to which the mysterious Dead Sea owes much of its saltness, is mentioned again by no writer till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

[1] See Gesta Dei per Francos, Hanoviæ, 1611. Fulcherii Carnotensis Gesta peregrinantium Francorum cum armis Hierusalem pergentium.

With the Anglo-Saxon Sæwulf, who wrote in Latin, the story of genuine pilgrimages made in the Crusading period properly begins.[1] From internal evidence it appears that his visit was made in the year 1102 or 1103. Toward the close of his little work he says: "When we had gone through every one of the Sanctuaries of Jerusalem and its confines, as far as we could, we went on board ship at Joppa."[2] This statement, taken in connection with the very meagre details in regard to places in the north—Shechem, Nazareth, Cana, Tabor, the Sea of Galilee, Cæsarea Philippi—seems to indicate that his actual travels were not very extensive. He landed safe at Jaffa, but immediately afterward a fearful storm arose, causing awful shipwreck, witnessed by him from the shore and described with much rhetoric.[3] Unfortunately, the hope thus raised for a full and picturesque narrative is not realized, for after describing the dangers of the two-days' journey to Jerusalem, from lurking Saracens on the one hand, and on the other from wild beasts, whose ravages had strewn the road with bodies of former pilgrims, he lapses into brevity. We should except, however, the full accounts of the Temple of the Lord and of the Holy Sepulchre, the latter having especial value in showing the condition of the church before the additions made by the Crusaders.[4] His narrative bears ample testimony to the depredations committed by the Arabs. In regard to Bethlehem he states that "There nothing has been left habitable by the Saracens as in all other holy places outside of the city of Jerusalem,

[1] P. P. T., iv. [2] P. 27. [3] P. 6. [4] Pp. 9–17.

except the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary."[1] Hebron had been devastated and Nazareth entirely laid waste. He notes, however, the fertility of the Jericho plain, rich in all kinds of palms and in all fruits. At Hebron, he declares, the precious spices with which the bodies of the patriarchs were anointed still fill the nostrils of those who go thence.[2] On re-embarking at Jaffa he sailed north, past the coast cities as far as Latakîa (Laodicea), naming thirteen of these, but placing them in wrong order.[3]

The date of the pilgrimage of Daniel, Abbot of a monastery in Russia, is fixed with considerable certainty in the year 1106 or 1107.[4] While he is sorely deficient in historical geography—confusing Samaria with Shechem, Bethshean with Bashan, Cæsarea Philippi (Banias) with Cæsarea Palestina on the coast, and identifying the Capernaum of the Gospels with a village of the same name south of Carmel—he has some careful notes on the physical aspects of the land, though these are not worked up into generalizations. As regards Jerusalem, he observes the contrast between the barren, rocky appearance of the soil and the abundance of the crops, and states that the inhabitants are dependent upon rain-water.[5] The Laura of Mar Saba—where, as a member of the Greek Church he was at home—deeply impressed him. "A dry torrent-bed," he writes, "terrible to behold and very deep, is shut in by high walls of rock, to which the cells are fixed and kept in place

[1] P. 22. [2] P. 24. [3] P. 27.
[4] P. P. T., iv. [5] Cap. xxvi.

by the hand of God in a surprising and fearful manner."[1] In contrast with this sombre picture we may quote his description of Hebron: "At present the land is truly the land promised by God, and endowed by him with all good things. Wheat, vines, olives and all kinds of vegetables grow in abundance; sheep and other animals bring forth twice a year; large numbers of bees make their hives in the rocks of these beautiful mountains; their slopes are covered with vineyards and with an infinite number of fruit-trees—olives, figs, carob, apple, cherry, and other trees. . . . No place under the sky equals it."[2]

Daniel's account is three times as long as Sæwulf's and fuller of personal touches. He explicitly states that his descriptions are based on actual observation. In cases where he is dependent on others he makes frank acknowledgment. But his distances and dimensions are not accurate. Haste, the usual bane of travellers, was not forced upon him; he was able to visit the Jordan four times, he stayed ten days on the shores of the Lake of Galilee, and remained four days at Acre. He recognized the value of good guides for Jerusalem, whom he paid as liberally as his means would allow, and was fortunate in having for dragoman on his northern trip an aged Monk said to be well versed in the Scriptures—better versed, we may hope, than our Abbot, who makes many blunders in the use of Holy Writ. Though a member of the Eastern Church, he was on friendly terms with the Western Latins, and obtained per-

[1] Cap. xxxviii. [2] Cap. liii.

mission from Baldwin I., who was planning an expedition to the regions of Damascus, to accompany the army as far as the Sea of Galilee. He was thus on this trip protected from the Saracens, whose presence in the forests between Bethlehem and Hebron had given him much uneasiness when passing between those places, and whose occupation of the Lebanon prevented his journeying thither.

The interest of his visit to Jerusalem naturally centres in the Temple and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In regard to the "Templum Domini" he states that the present church was built by "the chief of the Saracens named Amor," and that nothing is left of the Temple of Solomon but the foundations.[1] The church of the Resurrection of Our Lord was open to the sky. The Holy Sepulchre itself was "a small cave hewn in the rock, having an entrance so low that a man can scarce get through by going on bended knees; . . . a sort of bench cut in the rock of the cavern upon which the body of our Lord was laid (is) now covered by marble slabs."[2] Though the Crusaders had been in possession of Jerusalem for eight or nine years, the Greeks still had charge of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and kept the keys.

During the twelfth century it became the fashion to compile anonymous guide-books to the Holy Land, ranging in length from brief tracts, containing less than 1,000 words, to more elaborate works covering from thirty to fifty pages in the Palestine Pilgrims'

[1] Cap. xvii. [2] Cap. x.

Text series.[1] As a rule these are written impersonally, and even when the pronoun "I" occurs, the subjective note is entirely lacking. The largest of these guide-books is the work called Fetellus, or Eugesippus-Fretellus, after the name of one of its early editors. Much of the matter contained is repeated by later travellers, such as John of Würzburg and Theoderich, and occurs also in other guide-books, which clearly belong to the twelfth century, though they cannot be more closely dated; hence it is suggested by Tobler that all these authors, including Fetellus, follow some "Old Compendium" as a common source.[2]

The tract which we may conveniently call Fetellus is dated at about 1130 by an allusion to a portion of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre then in process of construction to the east of Calvary, namely, the Latin Choir of the Canons—the present Greek Church. As we have previously stated, it contains about 110 names of Scriptural places in Syria and Palestine, besides a list of the stations in the Desert of the Wanderings of the Children of Israel, accompanied by a very fanciful etymology. Thus we find not only the mention of the sites ordinarily visited by pilgrims, with distances between sites, references to the Scriptural events for which they were celebrated, and legends of a marvellous character, but

[1] Vol. vi contains translations of the texts of nine anonymous pilgrims, numbered from I to VIII, thus following the enumeration of Tobler, who distinguishes V[1] from V[2]. All but the first belong to the twelfth century. For Fetellus, see vol. v.

[2] See preface to his edition of Fetellus.

we may note the beginnings of an attempt to identify Biblical sites connected with events of minor importance, many of which had been unnoticed since the time of St. Jerome. Among these are Timnath-heres, the city and burial-place of Joshua; Keilah and Ziph, associated with the wanderings of David; Baal Meon, a town of Reuben; Kirjath Sepher, the city of Letters; Gath-hepher, the city of Jonah; Engedi, the Ascent of Gur, Libnah, Madeba, Tibnah, etc. Some of these names appear under strange guises, such as Gethocopher for Gath-hepher. The author's sense of arrangement is far from adequate. There is no broad presentation of the main geographical features of the land as a whole. While places in the same district are usually grouped together, his passing from district to district is somewhat arbitrary, and at times he returns to a part of the land already described in order to add previously omitted details. In addition to the errors common to the period, Fetellus makes some mistakes on his own account, such as the identification of Eleutheropolis with Emmaus; the placing of Malbech (by which he clearly means to indicate Baalbec) one mile from Damascus; and the confusion of Ribleh—actually not far north of Baalbec—with Antioch.[1] Among other strange legends and traditions he relates that Adam was formed by the Creator at Hebron,[2] that owing to the clearness of the Dead Sea the ruins of the submerged cities may still be seen,[3] and that in the Wilderness of Hor stands Mt. Eden, whose summit is of miracu-

[1] Repeated by later writers. [2] P. 8. [3] P. 13.

lous beauty and fertility.[1] Still, with all his blunders, Fetellus marks the beginning of a new era in the study of Biblical geography for its own sake.

The itineraries of the two German pilgrims, John, priest of Würzburg, and Theoderich, perhaps Bishop of the same place, were written at a period when the Crusaders had made their many alterations in the Holy Places. Hence, of especial value are their accounts of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Templum Domini, into which, as Daniel has told us, the Mohammedan mosque had been transformed. In matters of geography they cover less ground than does Fetellus, mentioning only between seventy-five and eighty Scriptural sites each. From internal evidence it appears that John's pilgrimage was made between the years 1160 and 1170, Theoderich's in the year 1172. Of these two fellow-towns-men, Theoderich is the superior, as well for his breadth of view as for his appreciation of detail. We may then consider him first. Up to this time we have sought in vain for any attempt on the part of the pilgrims to define the broad outlines of the land, but now the mere catalogue of names and distances begins to be accompanied by a larger sense of topography. True, we find no more than a beginning. Theoderich is first and foremost a pilgrim; the aim of his journey is principally religious; with him geography furnishes merely a framework for the Holy Places, but we must credit him with the first recognition, on the part of mediæval western writers, of the necessity of such a framework. Foreshadow-

[1] P. 19.

ings of the scientific methods of Robinson and Conder are shown in his first chapter, entitled "The ruin of the Land and the changing of its names." In this he clears the ground, as it were, noting "that the moderns, being strangers in the land, and not its original inhabitants, know the names of a few places only," and "that although some traces of certain places still remain, yet nearly all their names have been altered." After stating that the land of Canaan is divided into three provinces, Galilee, Samaria, and Judea, he gives correctly the boundaries of Judea, and adds, "Now Judea is for the most part mountainous, and round about the Holy City rises into very lofty ranges, sloping on all sides down to its aforesaid boundaries, even as on the other hand one ascends to it from these. These mountains are in some places rough with masses of the hardest rock, in others are adorned with stone excellently fitted to be cut into ashlar, and in others are beautiful with white, red, and variegated marble. But wherever any patches of earth are found, among these masses of rock, the land is seen to be fit for the production of every kind of fruit—wherefore we have seen the hills and mountains covered with vineyards and plantations of olive-trees and fig-trees, and the valleys abounding with corn and garden produce." [1] What an advance upon the topographical notices of former Christian writers is this brief but discriminating description! Again, in chapter iii, we find the hills and valleys of Jerusalem, all of which have been catalogued by former pilgrims, now for the first

[1] Cap. ii.

time co-ordinated and brought into coherence. He tells us that the Holy City, though built upon a mountain, has about it ridges higher than itself, the highest of which is the Mount of Olives. He traces the valley of Jehoshaphat from its beginning at the north of the town, past the Church of the Virgin near Gethsemane, past the tomb of Jehoshaphat, down to the Pool of Siloam, where it is joined by the valley of Hinnom, which bends around between Mount Zion and Aceldama and thus with the first valley "embraces the two sides of the city with a very deep ravine." In fixing localities he shows exactness. For example, before mentioning the Pool of Siloam he carefully describes the route to it from the Temple. Noticing the tradition that the water from this Pool comes underground from Shiloh (then wrongly identified with Neby Samwîl, some five miles to the north), he gives the topographical objections against the view, but, with a shrewd instinct warning him against dogmatism, declines to pronounce any decision.[1] Thus in more ways than one Theoderich shows himself to be the prototype of the modern explorer.

In his introduction, Theoderich frankly states that he relates not only what he has seen himself, but what he has gathered from the truthful tales of other men. His account is not in the form of a continuous narrative, but we infer that his personal experiences were confined to Jerusalem, with the sites easily reached from that centre, and to the places ordinarily visited in Samaria and Galilee. Less ac-

[1] Cap. xix.

cessible districts are mentioned briefly and unintelligently. We miss the personal touches which brighten the parts of the narrative dealing with places that he explicitly states that he saw. Take for an example of these his picturesque description of the view from Quarantania or the Mount of Temptation. From this rocky height, as the sun was setting, he looked down over the Jericho plain, swarming with tens of thousands of pilgrims, all carrying torches, in full sight of the Saracens lurking in the trans-Jordanic mountains.[1] Or read his account of the journey from Jerusalem to Shechem: "As we passed along this road we were met by a multitude of Saracens, who were proceeding with bullocks and asses to plow up a great and beauteous plain, and who, by the hideous yells they thundered forth, as is their wont when they set about any work, struck no small terror into us. Indeed, numbers of infidels dwell there throughout the country, as well in the cities and castles as in the villages, and till the ground under the safe conduct of the king of Jerusalem, or that of the Templars or Hospitallers."[2] This little picture makes us realize that though the Holy Land of the twelfth century was under Western masters, its ordinary population remained largely Eastern.

Notwithstanding Theoderich's instinct for scientific treatment, shown at least in germ, the marvellous is not without its attractions for him. He gives an ear to the fairy-tales told about the cities submerged in the Dead Sea. "Once a year on the an-

[1] Cap xxx. [2] Cap. xli.

niversary of the destruction of these cities, stones and wood and things of all kinds are seen to float upon the surface of the Lake, in testimony of their ruin.'' He also repeats the story that the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was turned, increases and diminishes in size with the waxing and the waning of the moon.[1]

Theoderich's description of the Holy Places in Jerusalem is much fuller than any of those we have yet considered, though not as exhaustive as that of John of Würzburg; but his assiduity in copying the Latin inscriptions in the Crusading churches can hardly be set down to an archæological curiosity. This seems to have been quite lacking, as, in dealing with the Temple, though he gives a *résumé* of its history, he does not notice the immense stones of the Enclosure.

For John, priest of Würzburg,[2] interest in the Holy Land centres directly in the life of Christ. Thus he states that his description starts with Nazareth, because in this city was begun the Redemption of the world through Our Lord's Incarnation. This notice, however, is brief. He hastens at once to Jerusalem, to the vicinity of which, as he tells us in his introduction, he proposes to confine himself. Following his *motif*, the account of the places connected with The Passion is pleasantly interwoven with a fairly continuous narrative of the events, rich in Scripture quotations. Theoderich, too, attempts this method, but less consistently. John is not satisfied with the mere mention of tradition; he

[1] Cap. xxxv. [2] P. P. T., vol. v.

must discuss its historical basis. When shown the hair of Mary Magdalene in a glass case, he tries to harmonize the various accounts of the Alabaster Box, and questions whether more than one Mary was involved.[1] He explains that Golgotha, or the place of a skull, was so called, because criminals, to be there executed, had their hair cut off and their skulls were bleached in the wind.[2] That he took especial pride in his lengthy review of the history and traditions connected with the Temple may be legitimately inferred from its closing sentence: "Let this description of the aforesaid Temple and its surroundings suffice; we shall not be envious of any one who can write a better."[3] The list of Latin inscriptions copied by him in the Holy Places is fuller even than Theoderich's.

John's introductory statement, limiting his account to the vicinity of Jerusalem, makes us uncertain which of the many other sites briefly mentioned were actually visited by him. His catalogue of the more distant places reads like a compilation, and it seems safe to assume that his travels did not take him farther north than the Sea of Galilee, where his list of sites is full. In general the distances given between places are inexact.

In passing from the records of these two German pilgrims to "The Brief Description of Phocas," native of Crete, and later Greek priest at Patmos, we seem to be making a transition from chronicle to literature.[4] His information is neither extensive

[1] Cap. vi. [2] Cap. x. [3] Cap. iv.

[4] P. P. T., vol. v. His pilgrimage was made in the year 1185.

nor especially valuable, but he presents it in a rapid and flowing style, rich in feeling and color. His best touches are given to places north of Judea: Antioch, the Groves of Daphne, the ice-cold Springs of Lebanon, the lofty water-towers of Tyre, disease-haunted Acre. Especially pretty is the picture of the fair harbor of Beyrout "wrought by art and enbosomed in the city in the form of a half-moon," at the two extremities of which "are placed as horns two great towers, from one of which a chain is drawn across to the other and shuts in the ships within the harbor." [1] A predilection toward the æsthetic leads him to devote a long page to the paintings in the church at Bethlehem: as you read you seem to see them. We regret that his power of portrayal is not more in evidence when he reaches the Holy City. Here the pilgrim-coma falls upon him; his topography is bald, confused. Even the Holy Sepulchre and the Templum Domini are passed over with cursory notices. It is interesting to find, however, that in these times of Latin predominance, the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel Comnenus (under whom Phocas once served as a soldier), adorned the rock of the Holy Sepulchre with solid gold, and furnished the mosaics which may be seen to-day in the Basilica at Bethlehem. [2] Once away from Jerusalem Phocas's style brightens again. The monasteries at Mar Saba and in the Wady el Kelt are sketched with spirit. [3] The tract ends all too soon with these words, at once playful and poetic: "If any reader shall think this a useful work, I shall consider my-

[1] Cap. v. [2] Cap. xiv. [3] Caps. xvi and xix.

self to be recompensed for my toil and amply rewarded; if not, let this my child return to me who begat it, and by its prattling remind me of those Holy Places, so that I may be sweetly refreshed in my imagination by the remembrance of them."[1]

From this picturesque tract, interesting more for its style than for its actual information, we turn to the business-like account of the Anonymous Pilgrim (V^2 in Tobler's enumeration)[2] written on the basis of a journey taken before 1187. This fragment, barely 3,000 words long, is a little model of concentration. After giving the boundaries of Palestine, the author takes up the religion of the inhabitants. Dividing them roughly into Moslems and Christians, he next enumerates, and in some cases characterizes, the Eastern sects: Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Gregorians, Jacobites, and Nestorians. Various nationalities are recognized among the Latins; their hierarchical organization is touched upon with considerable detail. His notice of the Holy Places is prefaced by the remark that "all the Land is hallowed because Christ walked in it." Though he signalizes the events for which each place is celebrated, references to relics are omitted. He next turns to the mountains of the lands; its animals, plants and fruits. The systematic account closes with a list of the chief cities, including "those that have changed their names." In the last sentence, which breaks off abruptly,[3] a miraculous rock at Jaffa is mentioned. Comparing the analysis of this

[1] Cap. xxxii. [2] P. P. T., vol. vi.

[3] But see note in the P. P. T. edition.

little work with former accounts, we note a widening of interest, especially of a human interest. Our pilgrim desires to satisfy a curiosity, or at least to create a curiosity in regard to Christians holding the faith in a non-Latin form. Again his notice of the flora and fauna, though brief and fanciful, signalizes a fresh point of view.

Apart from the guide-books and itineraries, the twelfth-century readers of the West were able to extract considerable information regarding Palestine from the "History of the Crusades" by William, Archbishop of Tyre, who began his work in 1183.[1] Naturally this information is only incidental to the historical narrative.[2] A reference to the term Syria in connection with a description of Tyre leads to a somewhat elaborate excursus on geographical nomenclature.[3] Syria, he says, may be used in a broad sense for the whole stretch of country from the Tigris to Egypt, from Cilicia to the Red Sea, and also for its various parts. First come Mesopotamia, Syria, and Cœle-Syria. The latter touches on Phœnicia, which is subdivided into Phœnicia Maritima and Phœnicia Libanica. This latter province is also called Syria and is also subdivided into two parts—Damascena and Emisena, from the two cities Damascus and Emesa. Larger Syria also includes two

[1] Latin text found in the Gesta Dei: Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis, etc. Edita à venerabili Willermo Tyrensi Archiepiscopo.

[2] Note, however, that in the lists of dioceses subject to the "Apostolic Seat of Antioch," we find 255 names of places systematically arranged (Lib. XXIII).

[3] Lib. XIII, cap. ii.

Arabias, Idumea and three Palestines.[1] As these terms were evidently but vaguely conceived by the Archbishop, his information gives little illumination, but it is noteworthy as an indication of a growing curiosity regarding broad geographical divisions.

William's topographical notice of Jerusalem is inferior to Theoderich's, but he presents one of the earliest Western sketches of Damascus, with its great stream rushing out from the mountain-gorge, and at once carried off into canals which create a circle of fertility in the arid plain.[2] Apart from an account of the Assassins there is, in his history, little regarding the Religions of the land.

Before passing on to the writers of the thirteenth century, we must briefly note the account of a journey to Palestine taken, in 1163, by a traveller of quite another order, namely, the Spanish Rabbi, Benjamin of Tudela.[3] The shrine at Jerusalem, which was the desire of all Christian pilgrims, he refers to contemptuously as the sepulchre of "that man." On the other hand, in each place of importance he mentions the synagogues and the number of Jews, often naming the leading Rabbis. An interest in the history of his people leads him to attempt the identification of sites, often erroneously: Gath is

[1] He adopts the division into the three provinces of Palestina Prima, Secunda, and Tertia, which, before the Crusades, were subject to the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem. Their capitals were Jerusalem, Cæsarea Maritima, and Scythopolis, respectively. (See Lib. VIII, cap. i).

[2] Lib. XVII, cap. iii.

[3] See the critical edition of A. Asher: Benjamin of Tudela's Itinerary, Berlin, 1840–41, 2 vols.

confused with Cæsarea; Gath-hepher with Haifa. However, he places the rivers Abana and Pharpar in their right relation to Damascus, and comes near the mark in locating Mareshah (unnoticed since the time of Jerome) at Beit Jibrîn. This identification is interesting in view of our recent excavations at Tell-Sandahannah, only two miles south of Beit Jibrîn, where the Greek town of Marissa was found to overlay the ruins of Mareshah.

Like the Greek Phocas, Benjamin entered Syria from the north. In describing the towns in order, beginning with Antioch, he covers many points untouched by the ordinary Christian traveller, such as a recent earthquake which had devastated Tripoli; the ruins of a heathen Temple at Jebeil, the city of the Giblites; the newly established sect of the Druzes, who inhabited the rocky heights above Sidon; the sect of the Samaritans at Shechem. At Jerusalem he marvels at the huge stones of the temple area.[1] He describes the accidental discovery, fifteen years before his visit, of the Sepulchre of David on Mt. Zion, by two workmen, who, in quarrying stones from old foundations, came upon a cave which opened into a large hall adorned with gold and silver and full of locked chests. But a sudden blast of wind threw them almost lifeless on the ground, nor, after their escape, could they be persuaded again to enter the cave, which, by ecclesiastical orders, was soon walled up.[2] This seems to be the revival of a story as old as the time of Herod, who, as we learn from Josephus, made an attempt to rob the Sepulchre of

[1] Vol. i, p. 70. [2] Ibid., p. 72.

David, with disastrous results. The true Sepulchres of the Patriarchs, however, might be seen at Hebron, so Benjamin declares, by any Jew who volunteered to pay the guardian; while penurious pilgrims had palmed off on them the spurious tombs erected above by the Christians, and even thus were subject to extortion.[1] Our Rabbi's wanderings in Palestine were very extensive, taking him as far as Tadmor in the Wilderness.[2]

We now come to the writers of the thirteenth century, the close of which saw the final triumph of the Crescent over the Cross.

Magister Thetmar, or Thietmar,[3] visited Palestine in 1217, thirty years after the battle of Hattîn, during a term of truce between the Christians and the Saracens. It is noteworthy that we owe our best mediæval accounts of the country to travellers or residents who wrote after the fall of Jerusalem. The world's progress in the art of observation and in free expression has something to do with this, but it seems also likely that interest in the Holy Land was quickened by the loss of so great a part of it. Thietmar,

[1] Vol. i, p. 76.

[2] The work of R. Petachia of Ratisbonne, who travelled extensively in 1175–80, is of far less value than that of his contemporary Benjamin. He shares with the latter the object of studying the condition of his Hebrew brethren in various lands, including Syria and Palestine. (See Tour du Monde où Voyages de R. Petachia. Carmoly, Paris, 1831.)

[3] Manuscript accounts of his travels are variously entitled: Epistola Magistri Thetmari; Thetmari itinerarium in Terram Sanctam; Thetmari peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam. The edition here consulted is that of Saint Genois, found in the Mémoires de L'Académie Royale de Belgique, Tome XXVI, Bruxelles, 1851.

indeed, passes over Jerusalem in a few lines, as having been described by so many, though his cursory treatment may also be due to the difficulty of detailed exploration at a time when the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—as he tells us—remained always shut, dark within and with no sign of respect without. But he amply makes up for his silence here by his full account of Damascus, glowing with local color.[1] Paradise he says it may be called, with its gardens irrigated by aqueducts, rich in trees of every sort and flowers of every hue, vocal even in November with the nightingale's notes. In the cooks' shops, he tells us, you may have your choice of twenty kinds of bread, and you need not be afraid that the stale food of yesterday will be palmed off on you as fresh, for the sellers are forced by fear of a fine to tell the truth about the baking. Virtue weighs upon the people as lightly as doctrine; there is no intolerance; each nation—for there are many of these—can follow its trade and its religion here quietly. Surely here is a livelier note than we have heard from the West before! For vividness this little picture of Damascus compares favorably with that of Ludolph von Suchem written some 130 years later.

From Damascus Thietmar's story leaps to Baghdad, with no account of the way thither. But his individual touch is again felt as we follow his journey from Jerusalem to Mt. Sinai. The awful gorge of the Arnon—a veritable cañon—fills him with terror: never had he seen such precipices! Passing through Kerak ("latiné Petra," he says) he comes

[1] Pp. 23–29.

to Shobek, the Montreal of the Crusaders, where a French widow lady fits him out for the desert journey with biscuit (panem biscoctum), cheese, wine, and fruit, and procures for him cameleers. An unconsciously pathetic touch, this. As we read his brief lines, a dozen questions come rushing up. How long since the widow lady had seen a face from Europe? What kept her in the inaccessible wilds, east of the Dead Sea, among the enemies of her people? Did Thietmar's visit bring her more regret than joy? On these points the Master tells us nothing, but passes on his way to Sinai, stopping to marvel at a rock-cut city which he does not know to be the real Petra.[1]

Perhaps the chief interest in Thietmar's work lies in his voicing the desire, which had begun to stir the West, to get at the real facts regarding Islam and its Prophet. Briefly, but in general fairly, he gives the Moslems' conception of Jesus, stating that they believe in his Virgin-birth, his miracles, his position as Prophet next to Mohammed, but that they deny his baptism, crucifixion, death, burial, resurrection and Divine Sonship. Mohammed's life is sketched and his teaching regarding Paradise, polygamy, circumcision, and fasting is touched upon.[2]

The historian Jacques de Vitry was born about the time that Jerusalem was taken by Saladin, and was resident in the land for almost ten years after his con-

[1] The following description, p. 42, must apply to Petra: In rupibus istis inveni excisas in petra mansiones hominum pulchras valde et ornatas, palatia et caminatas, oratoria et cameras et omnia commoda quæ valent ad usus hominum.

[2] Pp. 51 and 54–55.

secration as Bishop of Acre in 1217. "His History"[1] contains more passages directly purporting to give information in regard to the land than does that of William of Tyre. Especially full are his notices of the various Christian sects. It is difficult to say which he regards with greater contempt, the mixed race of the Pullani, descendants of the first Crusaders by local marriages, or the native Greek Christians. Against these two classes he hurls a volley of opprobrious epithets, hardly fitting his dignity as Bishop. The former he accuses of luxury, effeminateness, cowardice, jealousy, and ill-treatment of their wives comparable with that of the Saracens; the latter he calls double-dealers, cunning foxes, liars, turncoats, traitors, men who are easily bribed, who say one thing and mean another, who think nothing of theft and robbery.[2] To Mohammedanism he appears to have given no serious consideration as, with a total disregard for its iconoclastic principles, he says: "When they (the Saracens) possess the Holy City, they set up the Image of Mohammed in the Temple."[3] Toward the close of the work we find a series of chapters which at first sight appear to indicate that at last we are to have a good physical description of the land.[4] But, viewed more closely, his observations are found to lack broad outlines, while his details regarding Palestine are mixed up with stories confessedly derived from various authors, dealing not only with the East in

[1] Historia Hierosolymitana Abbreviata. Found in the Gesta Dei per Francos. English translation: P. P. T., vol. xi (abbreviated).
[2] Caps. lxxii–lxxiv. [3] Cap. lxii. [4] Caps. lxxxiii–xci.

general but with other little known parts of the world. He gives the reader the option of accepting or refusing the travellers' tales regarding Amazons, Pigmies, Men with Horns, Men with Tails, etc. This jumble of nonsense serves to illustrate the crude state of science in the thirteenth century, but actual information in regard to the Holy Land is slight. He notes that no rain falls there in the summer, that thunder and lightning occur only in winter time, and that wine in Jerusalem is cooled during the hot season by snow brought from the Lebanon. Earthquakes along the coast are attributed largely to the action of waves compressing the air in sea-caverns. A notice of the intermittent fountain of Siloam leads to an excursus on the qualities of fountains in general: some waters strengthen the memory, others destroy it; some promote libidinous passions, others remove them; women drinking at one fountain are made sterile, at another are rendered fecundive. In his sections on Plants and Animals he often fails to discriminate between Palestine and other Eastern lands, noting, however, that crocodiles are found in the stream of Cæsarea Palestina.

Scattered through the volume without much regard to order are many geographical notices—for example, the divisions of Syria, which we would naturally expect to find at the beginning of the treatise, are enumerated in chapter xcvi, in connection with the statement that Saladin had become master of the whole country. His nomenclature follows, with some variations, that of William of Tyre, but is held with the same loose grasp. More satisfactory are

his descriptions of the four great principalities organized by the Crusaders—Edessa, Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem[1]—and his notices of over thirty coast towns between Egypt and Laodicea (Latakîa).[2] We read that Baldwin, fourth king of Jerusalem, rebuilt the ruined town of Gaza; that Ascalon is shaped like a bow, or half-circle, the string lying on the seashore and the round part on the land; that Ashdod had dwindled to the size of a small village, and that "Tyre is well watered with springs and brooks of sweet water and is rich and fair with vineyards, gardens, fruit-trees and cornfields." A correct picture is drawn of Damascus. But the accounts of other inland places are brief, and arranged with little order, suggesting a compilation from older sources. This is not strange when we remember that Jacques de Vitry wrote after the interior of the country had reverted to the Saracens.

Brief notice is here perhaps due to the anonymous tract, "The Citez de Jherusalem," written in old French, probably during the first quarter of the thirteenth century. It lacks a broad preliminary statement of the main topographical features, but gives the names of a number of streets and markets. Thus to the student of Mediæval Jerusalem its value is considerable. In some manuscripts the "Citez" is followed by a description of the Holy Land, which repeats some of its details. From this second part Conder has culled a list of some thirty distances between various places, which on comparison with the results

[1] Caps. xxx–xxxiv. [2] Caps. xxxviii–xliv.

of the Survey, he finds on the whole to approximate to correctness.[1]

The German Dominican Monk, commonly called Burchard of Mt. Zion, whose name has come down to us under the various forms of Burchardus, Brocardus, and Borcardus, appears to have written his account about the year 1283.[2] In his preface, Burchard states that, having traversed a large part of the Holy Land on foot, his description is the result of personal observation, supplemented by information derived from Syrians (*i.e.*, native Christians) and Saracens, whom he carefully questioned. His title, "De Monte Sion," is supposed by some critics to indicate a long residence at the convent there, but there seems to be no evidence of this. As an attempt at systematic arrangement, Burchard's account is a distinct advance upon earlier writers, though the system is open to criticism. Taking the city of Acre as a centre, he divides the land into four quarters by means of radiating lines, each quarter being further subdivided into three parts. "In each of these divisions," he says in his preface, "I have placed the cities and places mentioned in Scripture, that it may be easy to find the situation of each place." As these radiating bands are taken strictly in order, the reader finds himself constantly brought back to Acre. Possibly, Burchard's early

[1] P. P. T., vol. vi. We may note here that chapters vii–x of Ernoul's chronicle (*c.* 1230) are devoted to the Holy Land (see same vol.) His account is full of errors, and his arrangement very arbitrary.

[2] P. P. T., vol. xii. Not to be confused with Brocardus who wrote in 1332. (See Röhricht.)

readers, with his maps before them—the first mediæval map of which we have a record [1]—may, as the author hoped, have found the system helpful, but, as this map has not come down to our times, we find nothing but confusion in a purely arbitrary description, which, for example, instead of grouping together the towns on the Sea of Galilee, presents Capernaum and Chorazin in one section, Tiberias in another, and Bethsaida with Magdala in a third. Before proceeding to describe the various bands, he quotes with some amplification Jacques de Vitry's divisions of Syria, giving credit to his authority. As to Scriptural place-names, his list is fuller than that of Fetellus by some forty-five sites. He is the first mediæval pilgrim to mention Ai, Aphek, Azekah, Beth-haccerem, Beth-rehob, Gerar, Kadesh-Naphtali, Lachish, Makkedah, Michmash, Mahanaim, Nob, Ramoth-Gilead, Shittim, Shocoh, Shunem, etc. The general positions of these are indicated, though they are not identified with particular sites or ruins.

In Burchard we are pleased to observe, at last, the dawning of an interest in archæology.[2] "At Kadesh-Naphtali," he says, "there are shown to this day vast ruins and exceeding beauteous tombs." "I have nowhere in the Holy Land seen such great ruins as at Samaria, and yet I have seen great ones. . . . The palace was on the mountain-top and was exceeding fair. There may be seen there to this day many of the marble columns which sup-

[1] See, however, p. 78.

[2] Cap. iv, p. 27. Note, however, that in the first quarter of this century, Thietmar describes a rock-cut city, which he did not know to be Petra.

ported its palaces and colonnades. Round about the mount, below the palace and below the mansions of the nobles, on the site of the public place or market for buying and selling, we may find to this day, all around about the mount, marble columns, standing within the walls. These columns used to support the vaults of the street, for the streets of this city were vaulted according to the custom of the Holy Land." [1] In Northern Syria he notes the Sepulchral Towers of 'Amrît. His topography of Jerusalem is fuller than that of Theoderich, notably in showing how Mt. Zion (by which he means the southern part of the Western Hill) is flanked on the south and west by one deep ravine—the Valley of Hinnom—and on the north and east by a second, which begins at the Tower of David, passes along the north of Mt. Zion, and bending south between Mt. Zion and Mt. Moriah, joins the Kedron Valley. "At this day," he writes, "the whole of the torrent-bed is filled up, nevertheless its traces may be made out after a fashion." [2] As the tourist proceeds to-day along the street leading from the Jaffa Gate to the Mosque of Omar, he finds it difficult to realize that he is walking over the course of an ancient torrent-bed. It is interesting to know that over six hundred years ago our Dominican Monk also found this valley filled up, and yet used his sharp eyes to make out its traces. His archæological instinct is again shown in describing the Valley of Jehoshaphat,

[1] Cap. vii, p. 51.

[2] Cap. viii, p. 67. So the text of Laurent's edition. Other texts have: "relictis tamen vestigiis prioris concavitas."

where he illustrates the changes of level by noting that the Virgin's Tomb, once above the surface, was at the time of his visit quite underground.[1]

At the end of Burchard's tract are two sections, entitled, respectively, "The Fruits and Beasts of the Holy Land" and "The Various Religions of the Holy Land." The latter shows a broad spirit of toleration, declaring on the one hand that the Latin population, containing so much of the scum of Europe, is the worst in the country, and deploring on the other the terror inspired in true Catholics by the very mention of the Eastern Sects, which he says include "men of simple and devout life, yet I do not deny there may be fools among them, seeing that even the Church of Rome itself is not free from fools."[2] His brief notice of the Moslems is both accurate and temperate, though it must be admitted that in a former section he has referred to the "Abominable Mohammed." Taking into account Burchard's grasp of his subject, his fulness of detail, his interest in archæology, and his tolerant spirit, I do not hesitate to follow M. Laurent, one of his many editors, in accounting him "the most notable of all mediæval pilgrims."

Before leaving the Crusading Period, that is, the period during which the Franks had at least a foothold in the Holy Land, we must refer to the wealth of information in connection with the official descriptions of Fiefs and lists of places belonging to different Orders and individuals.[3] Conder has shown

[1] Cap. viii, p. 72. [2] Cap. xiii, p. 107.

[3] See Rey's Colonies Franques en Syrie.

that "out of some 700 places mentioned in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Western Palestine, about 500 are now more or less certainly located."[1] The Crusaders were not, strictly speaking, explorers, but they created abundant material for the explorers of succeeding centuries. We must add that in doing this they uprooted much of the antiquity of the past, without, alas! properly recording its traces. Among the best preserved monuments of the land are the ruins of the Crusading churches and castles. The latter invite the traveller's attention wherever he may wander—on the shores of the Dead Sea, on the heights overlooking the Lake of Gennesaret, on the foot-hills of Lebanon and Hermon, along the maritime plain, in the interior of Northern Syria.[2]

During the fourteenth century visits to Palestine pass into a new phase. No longer was their motive exclusively religious. In many cases they are but incidents in more extensive travels, taken in the spirit of Marco Polo, whose exploring enterprise belongs indeed to the preceding century. For the Venetian Marino Sanuto, however, the centre of the universe was still the Holy Land. On September 24, 1321, he presented to Pope John XXI. his vast work entitled "Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terræ Sanctæ Recuperatione et Conservatione"; or "The Book of Secrets for Crusaders concerning the Recovery and Preservation of the

[1] Q. S., 1897, p. 71. Also Conder's The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

[2] See Rey's Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie, etc., Paris, 1871.

Holy Land."[1] This work Ritter declares to be "the most complete monograph which the Middle Ages have given us on any similar theme." To a study of this burning question, both on its historic and practical sides, our Venetian gave a great part of his life. He traces the history of the land from the earliest times through the period of Mohammedan rule to the entry of the Franks. He discusses the origin of the Crusaders, the period of Latin power, the reasons for the loss of the kingdom. He points out the easiest places for the landing of an army, shows where the best sailors may be obtained, and dwells on the Art of Making Allies.

The geography of Palestine is systematically treated in Part XIV of Book III,[2] with cross references to other portions of the work, where cities and other places are mentioned in connection with the History. Though the author was a frequent visitor to Acre, we miss the personal touch in his information, much of which, adopted without acknowledgment, may be traced to Burchard and to Jacques de Vitry. Still, while closely following the former—mistakes and all—in locating sites, he attempts on his own account about a dozen identifications of places not noticed before in Mediæval times.[3] He also shows a certain originality in grouping his supposed facts, devoting especial chapters to the Rivers and the Mountains, references to which, often er-

[1] Latin text found in the Gesta Dei Francos.

[2] This portion appears in English translation in P. P. T., vol. xii.

[3] These include Abilene, Beeroth, Beth Jesimoth, Eshtaol, Eneglaim, Jabesh Gilead, Jokneam, the field of Zoan. None of the sites is located precisely.

roneous, are scattered through Burchard's work. Toward the close of the section we find detailed lists of the pilgrimages to be taken in the Holy Land.

Fortunately, of the four maps prepared for the work, three have been preserved: The World, the Holy Land, The Coast of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. Only the map of the Mediterranean has perished. We also have his plans of Acre and of Jerusalem. The map of the Holy Land is hardly more than a rude sketch, not drawn to scale and full of errors. Damascus appears near Cæsarea Philippi and west of Hermon; the Dead Sea shrinks to narrow limits, while in comparison the waters of Merom are too extensive. The map is covered by a network of lines which have no connection with degrees or meridians, but which, like the bands of Burchard, were supposed to facilitate reference. Our author states that as the Holy Land is eighty-three leagues long and twenty-eight leagues broad, he has divided his map into squares by eighty-three lines running east and west and by twenty-eight running north and south, each space representing a square league. In enumerating the principal places he proceeds longitudinally by spaces, beginning at the northeast corner and thus running down the map twenty-eight times. This method of description rivals that of Burchard in awkwardness, and involves, like his, the scattering through the text of the various references to the sites on the Sea of Galilee instead of their co-ordination in a single paragraph. His map of Jerusalem is confirmatory of Burchard's statement, made at the close of the

thirteenth century, that Mt. Zion was within the city wall. In 1896, while trenching across the Western Hill, Mr. Dickie and myself came across a city wall which ran on a different line from that of Eudocia. On boring through its foundations, we found in their very heart a fragment of late-Byzantine moulding, indicating that these were laid in Mediæval times.[1] Turning to Marino Sanuto's map we observed upon it a wall running upon the same general lines with the foundations we were tracing.[2]

While Marino Sanuto was bending all his energies to considering practical plans for bringing Palestine once more under Christian dominion, a poor exiled Jew was unostentatiously working for the advancement of real scientific knowledge regarding the land of his ancestors. In 1314 the Rabbi Esthori B. Mose Ha-Parchi settled in Beisân (Bethshean, Scythopolis), above the western bank of the Jordan, and from this centre systematically explored both Eastern and Western Palestine for seven years, devoting two of them to Galilee. His work was completed in 1322. Crude as it may now seem, it was a great advance upon contemporary Christian writers. It sounds the note of Robinson, emphasizing the fact that many ancient towns of the tribes were well known to the inhabitants of the land, though visitors were ignorant of their situa-

[1] See Excavations at Jerusalem by Bliss and Dickie, pp. 68–74.

[2] This wall appears also on the map accompanying the De Passagiis in Terram Sanctam found in the Chronologia Magna, dated by Röhricht at about 1330. But Thomas, editor of the De Passagiis (Venice, 1879), thinks it probable that Marino Sanuto made use of this work. Neither map is a direct copy of the other.

tion.[1] He compares his own observations with the statements of former Jewish writers. The account of districts which he visited is accompanied by important notes on frontiers, cantons, distances, botany, etc. Robinson points out that several ancient sites often supposed to have been rightly identified for the first time during the nineteenth century were recognized by him; for example, he identifies Megiddo with Lejjûn or Legio on the edge of the plain of Esdraelon. On the other hand, of course many mistakes occur. Mareshah is not north of Lydda, but far to the south. "Dan," he says, "is Leshem, Sefam, Laish, Paneas, *Arabic* Banias"; his attempt to correlate these various names is interesting, his identification is wrong. Of especial note is his account of the Trans-Jordanic provinces, with mention of Dibon, Aroer, Heshbon, etc.[2]

[1] This point is touched on by Theoderich (1172), see p. 95.

[2] For Parchi, see Zunz On the Geography of Palestine from Jewish Sources, in Asher's Benjamin of Tudela (1840–41), vol. ii, pp. 393 ff. Parchi and Benjamin are the most important of Mediæval Jewish writers on Palestine. R. Petachia (1175–80) has been already mentioned in a footnote (p. 101). For brief notices of other authors, see Zunz in the same vol., pp. 234 ff., On the Geographical Literature of the Jews from the remotest times to the year 1841. See also Carmoly's Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte des XIII, XIV, XV, XVI et XVII Siècles (Bruxelles, 1847). This contains French translations of the brief tracts of Samuel Bar Simson (1220); Iakob de Paris (1251); Ishak Chelo (1334); Eliah de Ferrare (1438); Gerson de Scarmala (1561); Uri de Biel (1564); Samuel Jemsel (1641). These authors concern themselves mainly with the tombs of sacred men of Scripture and noted Rabbis. Compare also Neubauer's Anecdota Oxoniensia. Mediæval Jewish Chronicles (1895); especially for Daniel the Reubenite, who visited Jerusalem and Hebron in 1523. He gives a curious account of the Tombs of the Patriarchs at the latter place. See also Chaplin, Q. S., 1897, p. 44.

In 1336 Wilhelm von Baldensel and Ludolph von Suchem, rector of a parish in the diocese of Paderborn, began their travels together in Palestine.[1] Wilhelm published first, and from his account Ludolph copies many entire sentences in his work written about the year 1350. But though they run on parallel lines, Wilhelm is bald, uninteresting; Ludolph is charming, picturesque. The latter is indeed no geographer; he draws no broad outlines, and his details are often erroneous, such as when he confuses Azotus with Antipatris, and places Gath at Scandalium, north of Acre.[2] But inaccuracy in identification of long-dead cities may be pardoned to a traveller who can paint us a vivid picture of the living city of Damascus as it stood in Mediæval times. Lightly he touches upon its circle of gardens and orchards, full of flowers and fruits; its rivers and brooks and fountains "curiously arranged to minister to men's luxury"; the segregation of divers trades by streets; the rivalry of merchants in display of goods in front of their shops; the singing-birds hung in cages before the dwelling-houses; the tempting cook-shops redolent with exquisitely prepared food.[3] As you read you seem to hear the hum of chatter and the click of busy trade; you smell the flowers, you admire the prettily arranged wares, you taste the confections of the pastry-cook. He gives

[1] Guilielmi de Baldensel Hodoeporicon ad Terram Sanctam. See Canisii Thesaur. Monument. ed. Basnage. Ant. 1725, Tome IV, p. 331. Description of the Holy Land, etc., by Ludolph von Suchem, P. P. T., xii. (This last name sometimes appears as Petrus de Suchen and Ludolphus de Sudheim; see Röhricht.)

[2] Cap. xxvii. [3] Cap. xliv.

an enthusiastic account of "the glorious city of Acre" as it had been in Crusading times.[1] Equally lively is the story of the journey from Egypt to Palestine by the way of Mt. Sinai, with its notes on the habits of camels, on the Arab guides, on the hardships of the Desert, on the Monks of St. Catherine.[2] At Hebron he found three renegades—two esquires and their servant—who had renounced their Christian Faith in the hope of gain, and who, as he pathetically remarks, "had no heart to tell who they had been."[3] As has been noticed in the case of former travellers, the burden of describing the traditional Holy Places in Jerusalem weighs on Ludolph's style. We miss the gay note, the bright personal touch. The places passed on the way between Jerusalem and Damascus are only briefly referred to, and the trip across the Lebanon to Beyrout is barely more than indicated.

The earliest known manuscript purporting to contain the travels of a Sir John Mandeville, is in French and is dated 1371. The author claiming this name declares that he left England in 1322, and that after wandering through Tartary, Persia, Chaldea, Armenia, Palestine, Egypt, Lybia, Ethiopia, India and the Isles round about, he wrote out his adventures in the year 1357. The work was early translated into Latin and English. Its subsequent popularity is proved by translations into seven other languages. This vogue may be accounted for by the curious mixture of credulity with shrewd observation, the whole pervaded by a genial and liberal spirit. Side by side with descriptions of natural products, we find the

[1] Cap. xxv. [2] Caps. xxxv–xxxvi. [3] Cap. xxxvii.

old tales of dog-headed men and one-eyed monsters, which appear in Pliny and Solinus. In view of the uncertainty as to who the author of this curious work was, and as to where he actually travelled himself (though there seems to be little doubt that he really was in Egypt and Palestine); as well as in view of the certainty that he stole much of his material from his predecessors, notably from William of Baldinsel, it would not be edifying to our subject to analyze his work closely. But whoever "Sir John" may have been, it is important for us to realize that the fourteenth century produced a Palestine Pilgrim, who, full of superstition indeed, was at the same time a man of the world; whose spirit of toleration in religion was in advance of all who had gone before him, even in advance of Burchard of Mt. Zion. As such a one, he may claim our passing interest. Even when his facts are dubious, his point of view is illuminating. His account of the tenets of Mohammedanism, indeed, contains only a small proportion of error. But whether he ever conversed with the Sultan of Egypt or not, his story of the alleged interview serves to emphasize the author's liberal ideas. He puts into the mouth of the Sultan a condemnation of Christendom as over against Christianity which had been betrayed by its followers. The Holy Land will surely revert to the Christians, says the Sultan, when they shall serve God more devoutly, but, until they change, the Saracens have dread of them in no kind. The chief obstacle to the otherwise easy conversion of the Moslems, "Sir John" finds in the bad example of Christians with whose

evil living he contrasts the faithful and consistent life of the votaries of Al-Koran. (Chap. xii.) [1]

For a century and a quarter after the time of the alleged Mandeville, though the stream of pilgrimage was never interrupted, there are no intrinsically important records of travel. Some of them strictly follow the traditional lines of description. For example, John Poloner (1421–22) sometimes copies Burchard word for word, and again appears to follow the "Old Compendium," supposed by Tobler to have been used by Fetellus, Theoderich and others. Even his map (unfortunately lost) adopted the arbitrary divisions into squares employed a hundred years before by Marino Sanuto. On the other hand, in the narrative of the Frenchman Bertrandon de la Brocquière, who visited Syria and Palestine in 1432, we hear a new note heralding as it were some of the features of the modern period of travel.[2] Like a multitude of his successors, he presupposes the reader's interest in his private adventures, with which the work is largely concerned. We hear more of the difficulties in visiting places than of the places themselves. For compensation we get a good deal of incidental information in regard to the social conditions of the country near the beginning of the fifteenth century. What interests him he describes in a way to in-

[1] For the most accessible discussion of the authorship of this work, see art. Sir John Mandeville, Dictionary of National Biography. For Old English version the reader is referred to Halliwell's edition, 1866: The Voyage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville.

[2] Modern French in Mémoires de l'Institut, Tome V, Paris, 1804. See also Early Travels in Palestine (Wright) for English translation.

terest us: the difficult landing at Jaffa with the crowd of hungry officials and dragomans on the shore; the illness which interrupts the author's visit to Mt. Sinai, but which gives him the chance to experience the kindly hospitality of an Arab camp, accurately described; the violent contrast between the heat of the day and the cold at night on the journey across the Lebanon to Damascus; the trouble he had at the gate of that city which no Christian was permitted to enter on horseback; his detention in prison until released by the intervention of the Venetian Consul; the return of the Mohammedan pilgrimage from Mecca; the purchase of an Arab attire which he had to assume for his journey by caravan to Brûsa; his wonder at the immense water-wheels which to-day strike the traveller's attention at Hamath. Twice he was deterred from making the trip to Nazareth and vicinity by advice given at Jerusalem and at Acre respectively, but his determination surmounted all obstacles and he finally visited the desired places, starting from Beyrout alone with a single muleteer.

LECTURE IV

FROM FABRI TO ROBINSON

If in Bertrandon de la Brocquière, with a notice of whose travels we closed the last lecture, we found signs of a transition from mediæval to modern methods in descriptive travel, we may affirm that with Felix Fabri (1480–83) the transition has finally been made.[1] Standing at the threshold of a new period, this Dominican Father of Ulm looks both backward and forward, but his likeness to Robinson is greater than his likeness to Burchard. Still, we must remember that he is only on the threshold. The analogy with modern times presented by his work is more in form than in content. His geography shows little or no advance on his predecessors. Archæology, as such, has small interest for him. He uses little fresh material. But he arranges the old material with discrimination; he attempts to discuss it critically; and he presents it to us with a fulness never before contemplated.

Fabri's second trip to the Holy Land was contemporaneous with that of Bernhardt de Breydenbach, Dean of Mayence, and the journey to Sinai

[1] Felix Fabri: Eigentliche Beschreibung der hin und wider-Fahrt zu dem heyligen Landt gen Jerusalem, Ulm, 1556. For the references here, see The Wanderings of Felix Fabri, P. P. T., vii–x. (Two volumes bound in four.)

they took in company. Good friends they were, and, indeed, the Dean invited Fabri to visit him at the Cathedral town, where they might compose their works together. Felix praises his friend's book highly, declaring that his perspicuous account of the religious sects is fuller than his own,[1] and that his pen-picture of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is so vivid that the reader feels himself to be standing in the very court-yard and gazing at the building itself.[2] Comparing the two works, we note that Breydenbach's is the better adapted for reference, as the itineraries are kept separate from the historical discussions and from the detailed descriptions.[3] His style is more condensed than that of Fabri's, but at the sacrifice of those personal and humorous touches which illuminate the otherwise prolix account of the latter. Notwithstanding his more scientific arrangement, the critical Robinson finds Breydenbach less accurate than Fabri. Hence, all things considered, we shall keep to Fabri as the better representative of the new era in travel.

This choice will enable us to illustrate the bond of common experience that unites all travellers to the Holy Land, whether mediæval or modern. We may quote, then, a few of Fabri's humorous passages, showing that tourists visiting this country ten years before Columbus discovered America, had just about the same adventures, and showed just about the

[1] Vol. i, pp. 438–39. [2] Vol. i, p. 427.

[3] Bern. de Breydenbach, Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum ac in Terram Sanctum, Mogunt, 1486; Spiræ, 1490, ib., 1502. German: Die Heiligen Reisen gen Jherusalem, etc., Maynz, 1486, etc.

same sort of human nature as may be exhibited in the latest grand cruise of 1904. When I read how the German Pilgrims, on the morning of their start from Jaffa, were met by a horde of donkey-drivers with such an onrush that "it not seldom happened that two or three drivers were dragging one pilgrim, one in one direction, one in another,"[1] my mind instantly parallels the scene with the recollection of an Austrian pilgrim I once saw in the Jerusalem bazar, whose terrified expression told that he feared he would be torn limb from limb by the desperate onslaught of the sellers of olive-wood and pearl ware. Felix and his party were conducted to the Siloam Tunnel, but what satisfaction they got out of it may be gathered from Felix's own words: "Those in front cried out against the impatience of those behind, and those who were last cried out at the slowness of those who were in front, and those who were in the middle cried out because they were squeezed by both the others."[2] Cameleers, it appears, have not altered a whit during the last 400 years. Inspired by hopes of extra bakhshîsh, they delayed the start of our pilgrim's caravan by leaving on the ground, after the camels were charged, a bed, a basket or a bag, declaring that nothing else could go on the loads. Says Fabri: "We cursed them in German and they cursed us in Arabic, and we shouted at one another without either side understanding the other."[3] On the way from Jerusalem to Jericho Felix's cavalcade was followed by a rabble of Arab boys, with an eye to fun and plunder. He main-

[1] Felix Fabri: I, p. 240. [2] I, p. 527. [3] II, p. 492.

tains that the plight of his party was worse than that of the man who fell among thieves along this same route, "for," he says, "we brought our thieves with us at our own charges."[1] His fondness for finding a parallel between his own experiences and those of Biblical characters is further illustrated by his account of the terrible thirst experienced by the Pilgrims in the Wilderness of Sinai when "we murmured for water, saying to the dragoman Calinus, who was our Moses, 'Give us water that we may drink.'"[2] Fabri's description of this Calinus, by the way, proves that the dragoman-fever, the chief symptom of which is the hallucination that your own particular dragoman is a unique incarnation of disinterested perfection and that with him all virtue will perish, is a disease not confined to modern times. Like his successor of to-day, Calinus would not willingly discourage this idea. "He was much troubled," says Felix, "to know how after his death pilgrims would be able to be guided through the desert and through those countries. Indeed I myself am also disquieted about this, and I dread his death."[3]

On returning to Germany from his first visit to Palestine, made in 1480, when he "ran about the Holy Places without understanding or feeling what they were,"[4] Felix painfully realized that he had no clear answer to give to questions about the Holy Land. Determining to make a second journey under different auspices, he devoted a year to an elaborate

[1] II, p. 10. [2] II, p. 632. [3] II, p. 106.
[4] See Introduction to his Wanderings.

study of the literature of the subject, which further revealed to him the superficial and irregular character of his own observations. His new record took the form of a diary, minutely detailing each day's happenings; a *résumé* of the condition and history of a given place was inserted on the day on which it was visited. The main object of the work being the elucidation of the Bible, he recognized in the life of the Holy Land, as he found it, a wealth of illustration of ancient manners and customs. His account of the different religious sects is fair on the whole as regards the facts, but it is occasionally embittered by an intolerant spirit. As we have already intimated, his geography, whether in general description or in Scriptural identification, shows no advance upon Burchard's.

Let us follow this second journey somewhat more closely. In 1483 Felix Fabri was attached as guide and domestic chaplain to a party of four nobles, who travelled in considerable state. At Venice they made a contract with the captain of a galley, who, for forty ducats apiece, agreed to pay all the expenses of the ordinary tour, on sea and land. The trip to the Jordan was included, but not the excursion to Mt. Sinai. Mt. Carmel was sighted on the 1st of July amid a joyful outburst of music from trumpets, flutes, and bagpipes, but the party was detained in the Jaffa harbor for five days, awaiting the return of messengers from Jerusalem with papers of safe-conduct. A further detention of four days was suffered in a foul chamber on shore, so that the start for Ramleh was not made till the

9th of the month. At this place the Father Guardian of the Jerusalem convent of Mt. Zion read them a list of twenty-seven rules to govern their conduct in visiting the Holy Places, and their relations to the Saracens.[1] Most of these I heartily recommend to the consideration of modern travellers. Our pilgrims were told to beware of their conduct with Moslems, lest they bring shame on the Christian name; to refrain from entering mosques, from laughing at the prayers of the Saracens, or from drinking wine in their presence; not to write their names on walls nor to chip off bits from the Holy Places. Unfortunately, these last two injunctions were badly observed, for we hear of one pilgrim who smeared his name with red paint so ubiquitously that Felix declares "his companions wished that they never had known the name which he had been of such pains to paint up everywhere,"[2] and of another whose mutilation of the Tomb of St. Catherine at Sinai threatened to cause a serious quarrel at the Convent, happily averted by the admirable Calinus, who managed secretly to regain the missing chip and to restore it to the indignant monks.[3]

From Ramleh the pilgrims proceeded to Jerusalem under a strong escort, passing the night on the ground, too excited for sleep. Like modern pilgrims, they went straightway to the Holy Sepulchre, where many manifested their emotion in violent, hysterical forms. Felix bears interesting testimony to the attitude of the Moslems to this tomb. They regard it, he says, as the grave where was interred

[1] I, pp. 248 ff. [2] II, p. 88. [3] II, p. 625.

the man crucified in the place of Jesus. To them as to their successors to-day the Cross of Christ was both a stumbling-block and foolishness. Felix was taken to a heap of stones near the Church of Mt. Zion—a quarter of a mile south of the Holy Sepulchre—and was told that the place was venerated by the Saracens as the true burial-place of Jesus. Later he visited the spot secretly, scattered the stones, and unearthed the loaves of bread buried as offerings by the Arab women.[1]

The chief interest in his notes on the Holy Sepulchre lies in his attempt—perhaps the first in the Middle Ages—to employ genuine historical criticism in discussing the site.[2] We hasten to add that it is not the site itself which he calls in question; for him the problem is to ascertain whether the Sepulchre shown as the grave of Our Lord be in verity the actual tomb in which He was laid. He prepares the way for the discussion by presenting a vivid picture of the tomb and its surroundings as they must have appeared at the time of Christ, stating that he is indebted for his reconstruction not so much to the Scriptural references, which he shows to be vague, as to an analogy with the many rock-cut tombs about Jerusalem, carefully explored by himself. He next describes the actual condition of the place, quoting the account of J. Tucher of Nuremberg, who in 1479 made careful measurements, and adds the results of his own observations. The difficulties of the problem, he says, arise from three causes: from the inconsistent accounts given

[1] I, p. 332. [2] I, pp. 398–416.

by ancient and modern writers, from the various destructions to which the Holy City has been subjected; and especially from the fact that in his day the ordinary pilgrim found the whole place covered with marble, so that "neither within nor without, neither in the monument nor in the place where the body was laid, is there any stone or rock to be seen, but the whole . . . is covered over with white polished marble, which it was not originally." He traces the references to the marble covering from Arculf's statement that while the exterior of the cave was thus covered, the interior showed the original rock, through the account of an anonymous pilgrim of the year 1200, who gives similar testimony, down to the description of travellers of his day, who agree that no part of the original Sepulchre is visible, though they differ in their views as to whether any portion of this remains. He repudiates the theory, held by some critics, that when the Christians were driven from Jerusalem, they removed the entire Sepulchre piecemeal, on the ground that no church in Europe claims to own, among its relics, a chip from the rock. His own view is based upon a final examination of the interior by candle-light which revealed that the partition containing the door between the outer and inner caves was not encased with marble like the walls on either side, but was bare. Hence he was able to note that it was "cut out of the rock, not made of ashlar work, but all of one piece, with the marks of tools plainly to be seen upon it; in the upper part there seemed to have been a fracture which had

been mended with stones and cement." "From this," he concludes, "it is apparent to me that the Lord's Sepulchre had once been destroyed but never completely rooted up; that what is now there is a restoration, and that it has stood for more than 200 years as it appears to-day." That Fabri does not hold his theory dogmatically is shown by the words closing the discussion: "From all that has been said, the devout and quiet pilgrim should grasp the fact that whether the cave as it stands at the present day be the true and entire monument of Christ, or whether a part of it be there, or whether none of it be there, matters very little either one way or the other, because the main fact connected with the place abides true . . . to wit, that this was the place of the most Holy Burial and Resurrection of Christ . . . where there is a monument erected to Christ, and where the Sacrament of his Body has been often celebrated." I commend the spirit of these words to the Iconoclast who finds in the Holy Sepulchre nothing but degrading superstition, reminding him that, whether or not he agrees with Fabri in regard to the authenticity of the site, he may surely allow himself a thrill of sympathy in remembering that to this "monument erected to Christ" have flocked in all ages multitudes from every tribe and nation and kindred and tongue. The spirit of this discussion justifies us in classing Felix Fabri with modern travellers. Its logical arrangement, historical research, personal investigation, and, above all, its unprejudiced tone, all show the Dominican father to be the worthy predecessor

of the founders of the "École Pratique d'Études Bibliques" at Jerusalem.

The original band of pilgrims left Jerusalem for Jaffa on July 22d, after making the usual excursions to the Jordan and to Bethlehem, leaving behind Felix, with a few companions, to prepare for their trip to Mt. Sinai. The journey north to Galilee was given up on account of supposed danger, but not without a good deal of bitter feeling on the part of the minority, bent on seeing Nazareth at any risk. In the meantime Fabri undertook some minor explorations of Jerusalem and its vicinity on his own account. With a Jew as guide, "in fear and silence," he entered the vaults called Solomon's Stables by a breach in the wall of the Temple Area.[1] The Mosque of Omar he was able to view only from the Mount of Olives. He was dissuaded from going to the Dead Sea, but not by the dragoman's "somewhat theological argument, that the pilgrims had come to visit Holy, not Accursed, places."[2] At last, on August 24th, the party set out toward Gaza on donkeys, with twenty-two camels to carry tents, bedding, and provisions. Like the traveller of to-day, at Hebron they were allowed only to approach to the steps of the Mosque containing the sepulchres of the Patriarchs. As he proceeds toward Gaza, Fabri attempts to identify the sites along the route, but without much success. Still, we are indebted to him for his description of a place which he suggests may be Ziklag.[3] He arrived at Gaza at nightfall,

[1] Vol. ii, pp. 126–29. [2] Vol. ii, p. 105.
[3] Vol ii, pp. 428–29.

having passed at noon a lofty mound, with an extensive view, whose slopes were covered with fallen masonry, and whose top was surmounted by strong walls as of a city, not of a castle. Robinson holds that Fabri is describing Tell-el-Hesy.[1] If this be so, the walls seen by Felix were those of Lachish, not of Ziklag, and were subsequently to his visit buried in their own *débris* until the excavations of Dr. Petrie and myself.[2]

At Gaza the party was so demoralized by a short but sharp epidemic of sickness that a panic for return home seized most of the members, who, however, could not agree on any one route. After a wretched day of plotting and counter-plotting, health and reason returned together, and with a solemn compact to stick by each other whatever happened, they re-determined to go forward into the wilderness. I wish we could follow Fabri through his thirteen days' journey to Sinai, when privation and discomfort often caused him to wonder "that the Scriptures should so bitterly reproach the children of Israel for their murmurings, and that they should have been so grievously punished for so doing."[3] I wish that we could dwell upon his minute accounts of the Holy Mount and the associated places, but we have already given him proportionally more space than he intrinsically deserves. In explanation of this apparent favoritism we must allege that his

[1] Researches, ii, p. 48.

[2] Note, however, that the city walls excavated at Lachish were of mud-brick; cf. Volney's account, Voyages, ii, p. 311.

[3] II, p. 516.

importance for us lies in his place in the History of Palestine Exploration.

For on Felix Fabri shone the first rays from the sun of the modern world, which had been heralded by a slowly but constantly brightening dawn for 200 years. The light of this dawn we have seen reflected in our Palestine travellers from Burchard onward. The spirit of enterprise firing the first globe-trotter, Marco Polo (who wrote in 1298), influenced the spirit of pilgrimage, gradually minimized the subjective element which had dominated since the days of Helena, intensified the objective side. Curiosity began to stimulate observation; observation demanded an adequate record; the stereotype phraseology which makes one pilgrim-account read so much like every other, gave place to individual expression. This matter of free description is indeed Fabri's distinguishing characteristic, is the link that binds him to the world of to-day. His originality consists in his manner of treating old subjects rather than in a choice of new subjects to be treated. But after him we find new subjects of research, new points of view, logically associated with the widening of the field of knowledge consequent upon the discovery of America (1492), of the Cape route to India (1486–98) and of the ocean way round the globe (1520). The dissemination of classical learning in the West after the fall of Constantinople (1453) opened the eyes of European visitors to the Holy Land to monuments hitherto unnoticed — monuments illustrating that splendid part of its history unconnected with Script-

ural events. Each important traveller added his especial contribution to the gradual accumulation of knowledge—one in the line of archæology, another in the field of botany, another in a picturesque presentation of natural scenery. The growth of a curiosity regarding the habits and customs of the natives is well illustrated by Rauwolf (1573–75), who describes the whole gamut of daily life at Tripoli and Aleppo: the construction of houses, even to the wooden keys and bolts; the town drainage and public baths; the dress of the people; their judicial proceedings; their trades and imports; their religion and morals; their manner of sepulture.[1]

Progress in geography, however, and especially in the correct placing of Scriptural sites, was not commensurate with advance in other directions. The false identifications of the Crusaders persisted with extraordinary tenacity. Here and there we find an attempt to get away from these, as in Pococke (1738), but almost to the end of the chapter, to mention two examples, the Vale of Elah is usually placed at the Wady Beit Hanîna, near Jerusalem, and Dothan at Khan Jubb Yusif, north of the Sea of Galilee. Eastern Palestine was practically ignored till the time of Seetzen and Burckhardt, near the beginning of the nineteenth century. Indeed, before them little attempt was made to identify places off the main lines of travel, and owing to the increased severity of Moslem rule under the Turks, some of the high-roads were often closed to tourists after the second decade

[1] Some thirty years before Rauwolf, the French doctor Belon du Mans had written on the habits of the Turks.

of the sixteenth century. Tolls were extorted from pilgrims at short intervals along the various routes. These are constantly reported until the time of Lamartine (1833), who states that the blackmail levied by the terrible chief of Abu Ghosh had been abolished by Ibrahim Pasha, the conqueror from Egypt. The excursion to Jericho and the Jordan could ordinarily be made only on Easter Monday, under escort of the Governor of Jerusalem. Sandys (1611) was obliged to forego this trip, as he arrived in the Holy City too late. Thevenot (1658) states that the governor was supported by 300 horsemen and 200 foot-soldiers, the pilgrims numbering 4,000, as that year the Greek and Latin feasts coincided. On their return from the Jordan they passed in single file before the governor one by one, lest he lose any portion of his precious tax. The trip which he desired to make to the Dead Sea (barely an hour's ride out of the way) was absolutely forbidden. Maundrell (1697) declares that the pilgrims were taxed whether they took the trip or not, but count of the actual visitors was still made in the Jericho plain. More fortunate than Thevenot, he obtained a special escort to visit the Dead Sea. Similar experiences are narrated by Pococke in 1738. Châteaubriand, who was in Jerusalem in October, 1806, congratulated himself on being able to visit the Jordan and Dead Sea by secret arrangements with a man purporting to be the Governor of Jericho. The tradition of blackmail along this route is kept up to-day, all tourists being warned at their consulates to take a guard from the Sheikhs of Abu Dîs, near

Bethany, who claim the hereditary right to safeguard travellers. The tax is cheerfully paid by those who like to imagine the dangers of the route where the man "fell among thieves," and, indeed, were it refused, there would probably arise some inconvenience, the source of which might be traced to the rejected escort.[1]

Samaria and Galilee were for a long time in an especially dangerous condition. We have noticed that Felix Fabri was warned against the journey north from Jerusalem. Pierre Belon du Mans passed through Shechem on his way to Nazareth in 1548, but Zuallardo, who visited Palestine in 1586, when, according to Conder,[2] Christian influence was at its lowest ebb in the country, did not even make the attempt, and George Sandys in 1611, on his way from Jerusalem to Carmel, skirted the western base of the mountains, taking an unusual route from fear of the Arabs. After waiting long at Acre for the chance of an escort of merchants to Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee, he was obliged to sail for Sidon without visiting the early home of his Lord. Thevenot (1658) reached Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee from Acre, but describes the land route through Samaria only from hearsay, as the tolls made it too expensive for him. Van Egmond and Heyman, who travelled between the years 1700 and 1723, also avoided the inland route. Pococke, whose extensive wanderings in 1738 took him over many untrodden routes in

[1] Inhabitants of Jerusalem, native or foreign, can to-day take this route in safety, unguarded.

[2] See Conder's art. on Zuallardo's travels (Q. S , 1902, p. 98) for the indignities heaped on pilgrims.

Syria and Palestine, went by sea from Jaffa to Acre.[1]

The early part of the period under consideration is noteworthy for the inception of an interest in archæology; the latter part for its scientific development. While reviewing the course of this interest in Palestine, it may be instructive to bear in mind that this runs parallel with its course along Classic lines. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the European habit of collecting ancient sarcophagi for modern burial purposes—a habit which had obtained for some time previous—led to the collection of sculptures as models for the studies of artists. Early in the seventeenth century this enthusiasm for Classic Art for Art's sake gave way to a more purely antiquarian interest. Actual exploration of the monuments of Greece was not conducted till 1675–76, when Spon and Wheler made an extensive tour. The year previous to their arrival the sculptures of the Parthenon had been drawn by the French artist Carrey. With the discovery of Herculaneum in 1720, and of Pompeii in 1748, the antiquarian spirit yielded to an historical and scientific method, best exemplified by Winckelmann (1717–68).[2] It is interesting to note that the Palestine

[1] That the inland route was possible, though difficult, is proved by the successful attempts to pass over it by Cotovicus (1598), Pietro della Valle (1616), Monconys (1646), D'Arvieux (1660), and Maundrell (1697).

[2] See pp. 344–45, art. Classical Archæology, Encyc. Brit., by Dr. Murray. Cf. Systematik und Geschichte der Archæologie der Kunst, by Dr. C. B. Stark, Leipzig, 1880; especially sections 13 and 14 of Chapter 3, dealing with the beginnings of Archæological studies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the spirit of the Renaissance; and the Archæology of Art in the seventeenth

archæologists De la Roque and Maundrell closely followed upon Spon and Wheler, the pioneer students of Greek monuments; and that Pococke's extended researches among the ruins of the Holy Land occurred after the discovery of Herculaneum and before that of Pompeii.

The Palestinian pioneer in this science appears to be Kootwyk, better known under his Latinized name Cotovicus, who visited the Holy Land at the very close of the sixteenth century (1598–99). The travellers earlier in this century touch on the subject only cursorily. While the French physician Pierre Belon du Mans (1548) briefly mentions ruins all along his route, notes a Greek epitaph of Caius Cæsar on an ancient masonry tomb near 'Hums (Emesa), measures the platform of the Temple of Nahleh in the Anti-Lebanon, and attributes the terracing of the Judean hills to the ancient Jews, yet, though he seems to be the first European traveller after the Crusades to visit Baalbec, he dismisses the wonderful temples in a few words. Indeed, that he does not claim to be an archæologist is proved by the close of his brief description: "A man curious regarding antiquities could not see all there is in Baalbec in eight days, for there are many things, ancient and most notable, which were outside of our range of observation; also we did not stay there long." [1] The state of his geographical learning is

and the first half of the eighteenth centuries under the domination of an antiquarian interest.

[1] Les Observations de Plusieurs Singularitez et Choses Memorables, trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie, et autres pays estranges. Par Pierre Belon du Mans. Paris, 1555; p. 153 b. (First edition is dated 1553.)

illustrated by his identification of Baalbec with Cæsarea Philippi, which he acknowledges was near the sources of the Jordan!

As Rauwolf (1573–75) concerned himself chiefly with botany, his references to archæology, though often shrewd, are merely incidental.[1] He notes at Jerusalem that the Tyropœon valley between Zion and the Temple has been so filled up, since the Desolation, that no depth appears at all;[2] that the splendid marble building shown as the Palace of Herod is a later construction on the old site,[3] and that the old walls and arches outside of Helena's church at Bethlehem show that only half of the original structure remains.[4] The point of view of Johann Zuallart (Zuallardo, 1586) was that of an ordinary pilgrim.[5] He, indeed, mentions the ruined church at Siloam, but his interest in it was probably more ecclesiastic than archæological. However, his drawings throw some valuable light on the state of ruins during his day, and he is the first modern traveller to give an account of the so-called Tombs of the Kings, north of Jerusalem.

Cotovicus (Kootwyk), however, recognizes the

[1] L. Rauwolf, Aigentliche Beschreibung der Reyss so er ain die Morgenlaender, fürnehmlich Syriam, Iüdäam, etc., selbst volbracht. Augsb., 1581. English translation in Ray's Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages. (London, 1693.) References here are to this work.

[2] P. 289. [3] P. 313. [4] P. 375.

[5] Il devotissimo Viaggio di Gierusalemme, Roma, 1587. French edition enlarged by the author: Tres-dévot voyage de Jerusalem, etc. Anvers, 1604, etc. German edition Joh. Schwallart's Deliciae Hierosolymitanae, oder Pilgerfahrt in das heil-land. Cölln, 1606.

claims of archæology at each place he visits.[1] But he does not go out of his way to hunt up ruins. In going from Damascus to Hums he takes the easier route *via* Kuteifeh, thus missing the Temples of Baalbec. At Tyre he describes the traces of Alexander's mole, the ruined towers, the remains of the Cathedral. At Jerusalem he measures the Porta Speciosa, the monuments in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the Ecce Homo Arch; notes the ruin shown as the Tower of Antonia, and makes a thorough exploration of the so-called Tombs of the Kings. This was motived, he says, by "the desire which leads men to know hidden things," and was persisted in till the uttermost recesses were reached, notwithstanding that the explorers were "wearied and drenched with perspiration."[2] The resultant description is fairly scientific. Of the former splendors of Samaria, he tells us, none are left but three rows of marble columns. At Shechem, besides noting several ancient remains, he copies a Greek inscription found on a pedestal built into the wall of an ancient tower in the New Bazaar. This he locates so precisely that a later traveller could not fail to find it. He notes that the end of the inscription is illegible from weathering.[3] These may be small matters, but they indicate a new trend. In Cotovicus a genuine archæological spirit had begun to work.

To this subject the most important contributions

[1] Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum. Auctore Ioanne Cotovico. Antverpiae, 1619.

[2] Pp. 304–5.

[3] Pp. 341–42.

of the seventeenth century were made toward its close by De la Roque, Halifax, and Maundrell. Still, archæology was not ignored by travellers earlier in the century. Sandys, journeying along the coast in 1611, turned aside, "in the hopes of seeing something of antiquity," to examine the ruins of Umm-el-'Awamid. Sandys did not know either their ancient or their modern name, but notes that a solitary column is standing above the half-ruined foundations of an ample building.[1] Quaresmius (1616–26) touches on the antiquities about Jerusalem and along the various routes of pilgrimage, but this ponderous ecclesiastic had neither the archæological sense nor the archæological curiosity of his predecessor, Cotovicus. He does not attempt to verify personally the local statement "that the waters of the Virgin's Fountain flow through a subterranean tunnel to the pool of Siloam," a fact apparently unknown to former travellers.[2] However, he got his friend Verhouen to test the matter, but this gentleman could proceed no farther than the middle, where he was stuck. Quaresmius, however, adds that a certain Father Julius was said to have been more successful, having passed through the canal from end to end.

In Moconys (1647–48) we find an interest in

[1] George Sandys's Travailes, etc., London, 1615, etc. Reference here to ed. of 1673, p. 169. Umm-el-'Awamid signifies "The Mother of Columns"; it was excavated by Renan in 1860 and identified with a town of the name of Laodicea.

[2] Quaresmius: Historica Theologica et Moralis Terræ Sanctæ Elucidatio. Antv., 1639. Bk. IV, Cap. 27. See also edition of 1880–81, edited by Cyprianus de Trevisio, Venice.

minute structural detail.[1] He describes the construction of a partly ruined ancient cistern at Ramleh, noticing the layer of potsherds placed under the outer coating of cement to make the latter adhere better. His little description of the Baalbec[2] ruins shows a far more intelligent conception of the plan of the great Temple than does the more pretentious treatment of De la Roque. Recognizing the Roman style of architecture, he scouts the theory of a Solomonic origin. In paying a quarter of a piastre to get the base of a column cleaned, in order that the inscription might be read, he little dreamed that he was furnishing the first precedent followed some 450 years later by the German archæologists, who spent thousands upon thousands of piastres in cleaning up the whole place! Doubdan's (1652) accounts of the tombs in the vicinity of Jerusalem are excellent.[3] To short descriptions of the ruins of the country, ordinarily visited, D'Arvieux (1658–65) adds those of Château Pelerin, Cæsarea, and Ascalon. We must credit this traveller with his alleged discovery of a ruin rising three feet out of the Dead Sea more than 200 paces in circumference. To this island ruin his party rode out on donkeys which were sub-

[1] Journal des Voyages de M. de Monconys, conseilleur du Roy, etc. Ou les sçavants trouveront un nombre infini des nouveautez, en Machine de Mathematique, Experiences Physiques, Raisonnemens de la Belle Philosophie, Curiositez de Chymie, et Conversations des Illustres de ce Siècle; outre la description des Divers Animaux et Plantes rares, plusieurs secrets inconnus pour le plaisir et la santé, les ouvrages des Peintres fameux, les Coûtumes, et Moeurs des Nations, etc. Lyon, 1675.

[2] Vol. i, pp. 347–51.

[3] Le Voyage de la Terre Sainte, par M. J. Doubdan, Paris, 1666.

merged to the girths. D'Arvieux found traces of columns and indications that it had been burned. Naturally, he supposed it to have been one of the five cities which had been destroyed in this vicinity.[1] Among other archæological notes the Jesuit Father Nau (1674) minutely describes the ruins of 'Adlun (Ornithopolis), between Tyre and Sidon—a site that has no Scriptural association whatever;[2] he also appears to be the first traveller to mention Tell Hum, which he says was shown in his day as the site of Capernaum.[3] The Flemish artist De Bruyn (1681–83) furnishes many drawings of ruined buildings and other antiquities, with a running commentary. Among these we note the sketch of a sarcophagus in the so-called Tombs of the Kings, and a page of fac-similes of coins, found at Aleppo.[4]

The first archæological discussion, based on a careful and prolonged study of ancient monuments, seems to be that of De la Roque, who, in 1688, spent fourteen days in Baalbec, recording his notes every night and verifying them on the ground the last day.[5] Of the three sections devoted to the subject, the first contains a very general description of the

[1] Mémoires du Chevalier D'Arvieux, edited by Labat, Paris, 1735, vol. ii, pp. 193–94.

[2] Mich. Nau, Voyage Nouveau de la Terre Sainte, Paris, 1679, pp. 545–48.

[3] Ibid., p 572.

[4] Corn. De Bruyn, Reyzen door de vermaardste Deelen, etc., Delft, 1699. French: Voyage au Levant, par Corneille Le Brun, Delft, 1700; see cuts 124 and 128.

[5] De la Roque, Voyage de Syrie et du Mt. Liban, Paris, 1717. (References here to ed. of 1722) Vol. i, pp. 105–90. See also Voyage de la Palestine, Amsterdam, 1718.

Great Court and the remains of the large Temple, the plan of which he seems not to have understood; the immense size of the foundation-stones is, of course, noted. The second gives a circumstantial account of the small Temple and a description of the round temple outside the enclosure. In no case are ground-plans given, but the author inserts a restoration of the small temple within the court and an enlargement of its gateway. The third is an historical dissertation on Baalbec. Its identification with Heliopolis is maintained by a review of the literary notices and by a discussion of the coins. While he cites a great variety of authorities, the notice of John of Antioch (about the seventh century), ascribing the building of the Temples to Aelius Antoninus Pius, escapes him, for he asserts that history gives no account of their origin. For us the interest in this discussion centres not in its intrinsic value, which is small, but in its adoption of what we call modern methods.

De la Roque's interesting investigation was soon followed by a similar undertaking on the part of an enterprising Englishman. In 1691 Rev. William Halifax made a careful study of Palmyra, embodying his results in an elaborate paper published in England in October, 1695. His account is profusely illustrated with copies of Greek inscriptions; he also gives a fac-simile of a Palmyrene inscription, the letters of which he does not recognize.[1]

[1] A relation of a Voyage from Aleppo to Palmyra, sent by the Rev. Mr. William Halifax to Dr. Edw. Bernard: Philosophical Transactions, London, 1695. A translation is found in the French edition of Le Brun.

The antiquities of the Syrian coast north of Beyrout are first seriously noticed by Maundrell in 1697.[1] Though travelling with great rapidity, he made brief but accurate observations on the Theatre at Jebeleh (the ancient Gabala); on the Castle and Church at Tortosa; on the strange sepulchral towers at 'Amrît (the ancient Marathus), which, 400 years before, struck the wonder of Burchard; on the Crusading Castle at Jebeil (the home of the ancient Giblites), and on various tomb-chambers and sarcophagi seen along the route. Of the judicial character of these observations, we shall give illustrations later. Palestine proper is treated in a comparatively cursory manner, and he adds little to what was previously known of Jerusalem. At Baalbec, like his predecessor, De la Roque (whose description is far fuller), he does not seem to recognize the extent and meaning of the ruins of the Great Temple.

The interest of Van Egmond and Heyman (1700–23) in archæology is evidenced at the beginning of the work describing their travels by numerous inscriptions copied in Smyrna, Ephesus, Sardis, etc., before Palestine was reached.[2] In the Holy Land these Dutch Protestants often took a fresh point of view. While tradition had little value to them, they were quick to observe actual conditions. For ex-

[1] Henry Maundrell, Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, 1697. Oxford, 1697, etc. References here to edition of 1749.

[2] Van Egmond en Heyman : Reizen door een gedeelte van Europa . . . Syrien, Palaestina, Aegypten, den Berg Sinai, etc. Leyden, 1757. The references here are to the English edition, London, 1759.

ample, while the authenticity of the so-called Tower of David at Jerusalem is repudiated,[1] concerning Scandalium (Alexandroschene) we find the observation: "Here we see ruins of structures built in different ages, plainly indicating that the first ruins had been again built on."[2] Again, reasons are given for the theory that the sepulchres at 'Adlun were, in fact, dwelling-houses.[3] Between Aleppo and Alexandretta one of these travellers turns out of the road to examine the remains of the Church of St. Simeon Stylities, and to copy the inscriptions of the neighboring sepulchres.[4] Archæology, however, was not pursued by them systematically. Their accounts of the antiquities of the North Syrian coast are cursory compared with Maundrell's, and although their observations on the monuments at Jerusalem are in general full, in a walk around the city walls no notice is taken of the massive stones of the temple foundations.

Thomas Shaw (1722) made a specialty of Natural History and Physical Geography.[5] Still, his work contains many precious contributions to the subject under our consideration. He explicitly states that as he is following in Maundrell's steps, he takes notice only of "such things as seem to have been mistaken or omitted by him." Attention should be called to his brief comparative study of ancient

[1] Vol. i, p. 374.

[2] Vol. ii, p. 231.

[3] Vol. ii, p. 240.

[4] Vol. ii, pp. 367–71.

[5] Travels, or Observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant. By Thomas Shaw, London, 1738. The references here are to the Edinburgh ed. of 1808.

tombs,[1] and to his recognition that the ruins of 'Arca, the ancient city of the Arkites, are built upon a mound, which was "not a work of nature, but of art and labor."[2] The especial value of this latter notice lies in its containing apparently the first recognition of the Syrian mounds, which are to play so large a part in the discoveries of the future. That Shaw's scientific spirit was interpenetrated with a genuine archæological atmosphere—that feeling which regards antiquities not merely as objects to be measured or to be catalogued for museums, but as mirrors of a once living past—may be seen in his description of the natural setting of the sepulchral towers at Marathus. "The situation of the country round about them," he writes, "has something in it so extravagant and peculiar to itself that it can never fail to contribute an agreeable mixture of melancholy and delight to all who pass through it. The uncommon contrast and disposition of woods and sepulchres, rocks and grottoes; the medley of sounds and echoes from birds and beasts, cascades and waterfalls; the distant roaring of the sea, and the composed solemnity of the whole place, may naturally remind us of those beautiful descriptions which the ancient poets have left us of the groves and retreats of their rural deities."[3] Here Thomas Shaw touches a string of the harp so exquisitely played upon in after years by Châteaubriand, Lamartine, von Schubert, and Renan.

[1] Note that this subject had been treated in 1706 in a monograph by J. Nicolai entitled De Sepulchris Hebræorum. Quaresmio also touched upon it.

[2] Vol. ii, p. 24.

[3] Vol. ii, pp. 21–22.

The archæological observations of Pococke[1] are both complementary and supplementary. He did for the antiquities of Palestine proper what Maundrell had done for those of Syria, though he also notices these with even greater fulness. He was apparently the first to suggest that the so-called Tombs of the Kings, north of Jerusalem, were the Sepulchres of Queen Helena of Adiabene.[2] Of these he gives a plan with measurements. The interior of Samaria he did not visit, but he carefully examined the ruins of Cæsarea and Athlît, the Château Pelerin of the Crusaders. The plain of Acre he traversed by several routes with an eye to the various antiquities. He went out of his way to visit places of archæological interest. Thus he explored the rock-hewn fortress in the Wady Hammâm, west of the Sea of Galilee, with its great number of apartments.[3] This cliff-castle which, as we gather from Josephus, was the haunt of robbers during the time of Herod, was certainly out of the beaten track of travellers. Thomson, who was practically a native of the land, writing about a century later, says that his own visit to the place had all the romance of a veritable discovery. He had never even heard of it.[4] Pococke ascribes its making to the Druze Emir Fukhreddîn Ma'an, who had died only 100 years before. A chapter is devoted to the Temple at 'Ain

[1] A Description of the East and some other countries, by Richard Pococke, LL.D. London, 1743–45.

[2] Vol. ii, p. 20.

[3] Vol. ii, p. 67.

[4] The Land and the Book (ed. 1859), vol. ii, p. 117. Note, however, that Burckhardt had also described the place (Travels, etc., p. 330).

Fîjeh, the secondary source of the Barada, and to the rock-hewn aqueducts of this valley.[1] He gives plans of both Temples at Baalbec,[2] thus preparing the way for the great work of Wood and Dawkins in 1751.[3] We should note that while Pococke often mentions inscriptions, yet, unlike the indefatigable Maundrell, he does not reproduce many. His achievement along archæological lines can hardly be said to be commensurate with his opportunity.[4]

The first two decades of the nineteenth century opened up a new era of archæological research in the Holy Land. Seetzen and Burckhardt were veritable pioneers in the exploration of the ruins of Eastern and Southern Palestine. Seetzen lead the way in 1805–7 by visiting Cæsarea Philippi, described by no previous European traveller after the Crusades, by exploring the 'Hauran, and by discovering the magnificent remains of Gerasa and Philadelphia at Jerash and 'Ammân.[5] Burckhardt, in 1810–12, followed

[1] Pococke, vol. ii, chap. xi. [2] Ibid, chap. vi.

[3] The Ruines of Balbek, otherwise Heliopolis, by Robert Wood. London, 1757. Mr. R. Phené Spiers credits Wood with "having made one of the most marvellous surveys ever executed." (Q. S., 1904, p. 58.) See also the Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor in the Desert. (Wood) London, 1753.

[4] After Wood and Dawkins, the eighteenth century has no notable contributions to the archæology of Syria and Palestine. Niebuhr's visit in 1766 was too hurried for original work. Volney, 1783–85, concerned himself chiefly with the actual condition of the land. His elegant description of Baalbec is an exception. Note also his account of Tell-el-Hesy. (Lachish) Voyage, vol. ii, p. 311.

[5] U. J. Seetzen's Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia, Petraea und Unter Aegypten. Herausgegeben und commentirt, von Prof. Dr. Fr. Kruse. Berlin, 1854. See also his letters in Zach's Monatliche Correspondenz, especially vols. xvii, xviii, xxvi, xxvii.

closely in his track, but also constantly made diversions from this, adding new observations, and, like Seetzen, illustrating his work with a great wealth of inscriptions. To him belongs the glory of the discovery of the long-lost Petra.[1] He was also the first scientific traveller to explore the Greek cities of Apamea and Larissa in Northern Syria. As a guide to explorers who might come after him, he gave lists of places and ruins which he was not able to visit, with a careful transcription of the Arabic names. He thus laid a scientific foundation for identifications based on philological affinities. Pococke and Seetzen both collected place-names, but the English reproductions of the former are sometimes quite unrecognizable at first sight, even to one who knows the ground well, while the latter, though he adopts a scientific method of transliteration, appears to have had a defective ear. After Seetzen and Burckhardt[2] there is no epoch-making event in the field of archæology until the detailed researches of Robinson, unless we except the work of Bonomi, Catherwood, and Arundale, who, in 1833, succeeded in obtaining admission to the Ḥaram Enclosure and in making the first survey of its buildings.

Before taking a chronological view of the chief explorers of Syria and Palestine between Fabri and

[1] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, by the late John Lewis Burckhardt, London, 1822. Burckhardt's somewhat hurried observations at Petra were supplemented in 1828 by the splendid plates accompanying the work of Laborde and Linant (Voyage de l'Arabie Petrée, Paris, 1830).

[2] The less important work of Buckingham, Legh, Bankes, Irby and Mangles, etc., will be noticed in the chronological review, pp. 181–82.

Robinson we may glance rapidly at the advance made during this period along the lines of the Natural Sciences, especially Natural History, Physical Geography, and Geology. Many specialists, indeed, are found, but almost all writers make observations of some value. Just as attention to the past was no longer confined to traditions centring in the Christian religion, so travellers began to take broader views of the actual conditions of the land. Interest in the Flora of the East closely followed on to the publication of the first botanical printed work, by Ermolao Barbaro in 1492. Thus the French physician Belon (1548) dwelt lightly on the Holy Places, but everywhere his eyes were open to the flora and fauna, as well as to the manners and customs of the inhabitants. His work is illustrated by rude woodcuts of costumes, animals, and plants; of the latter he gives the Latin names.[1]

But the pioneer botanist of Syria was Rauwolf, physician of Augsburg, who started on his travels in 1573, "enflamed with a vehement desire to search out and view foreign plants growing spontaneously in their native places."[2] His expenses were paid by his brother-in-law, an apothecary, who hoped that his trade might benefit by the investigations into drugs and simples. Thus, as so often since, business and science clasped hands, but Rauwolf never forgot his scientific mission. His collection of dried plants, comprised in four large volumes, finally became the property of the University of Leyden. His two years' rambles were mainly confined to Northern

[1] For title, see p. 137. [2] See p. 138 for title of his work.

Syria, the visit to Palestine being brief and more in the nature of an ordinary pilgrimage. The fullest and most picturesque description is that of the Lebanon, including a minute account of the famous grove of cedars. He also made an excursion to the Euphrates.

The title of the work of M. Balthasar de Monconys (1647–48) has shown us the wide range of his scientific interest.[1] His brother-in-law, M. de Liergues, was said to have formed in his museum at Lyons one of the best collections of medals, coins, paintings, cameos, inscriptions, stones, insects, etc., found in Europe. The preface to the work by Sorbière states that Monconys's journeys were motived by the desire "to penetrate the causes and to seek out the natural reasons of these curiosities." Naturally, we find his science mingled with superstition. Practitioners of the magic art attract him at various places. In Aleppo he collects stones with occult properties, and "herbs for knowing the wet and the dry." At Sidon he takes down notes from a celebrated *savant* who recommends as a treatment for epilepsy that the physician should say in the ear of the sick man, "Memento Creatori tui in nomine, etc." But Monconys's work contains many practical observations; he describes the cultivation of cotton in the plain of Esdraelon; he notes, on Christmas day, the trace of the last year's snow on a pass over Lebanon; he revisits Siloam to study the alleged intermittence of the water, though, as it happens, at a wrong hour.

[1] For title, see p. 141.

At the close of the seventeenth century we find the labors of another celebrated Frenchman, the botanist Tournefort (1700).[1] Previously in the century the flora of the Holy Land had been treated by Ursinus (1663)[2] and Cosquiis (1664),[3] and the fauna by Bochart (1646)[4] and Majus (1685.)[5] Thomas Shaw (1722) was the first exponent of the natural sciences in the eighteenth century. He does not write for specialists, but gives a graphic and popular sketch, in broad outlines, of the general physical aspects of the land.[6] He notes the prevailing winds, the early and latter rains, the seasonal variations for the ripening of crops, caused by differences in latitude and altitude. He vindicates the Scriptural assertion that Judea was a land of natural fertility, pointing out that its modern unfruitfulness is due to the paucity of inhabitants and to the political insecurity.[7] He proves by statistics that the preservation of the level of the Dead Sea (which has no known outlet) can be more than accounted for by evaporation, there being no need for the assumption of some that it must have a subterraneous outlet.[8] His notes on geology are sketchy and superficial, but he mentions

[1] Institutiones Rei Herbariae (1700) and other works.

[2] Arboretum biblicum, Norimbergae, 1663.

[3] Historia ac contemplatio sacra plantarum, arborum et herbarum, quarum fit mentio in Sacra Scriptura, 1664.

[4] Hierozoicon sive bipartitum opus de animalibus S. Scripturæ. Londini, 1663.

[5] Brevis et accurata Animalium in sacro cum primis codice memoratorum, historia; Francofurti et Spiræ, 1685.

[6] See foot-note, p. 145.

[7] Shaw, ii, p. 145.

[8] II, p. 156.

the stratum containing fossil-fish in the Kesrouan Mountains, north of Beyrout.[1]

In 1747 Linnæus, in one of his botanical lectures at Stockholm, stated that the world knew less of the natural history of Palestine than of that of the remotest parts of India. His pupil, Fridrich Hasselquist, then only twenty-five years old, resolved to supply the wanting information at any cost, although he was suffering from diseased lungs. He paid the price of his life, dying at Smyrna in 1752. During the years 1749–52 he travelled in Egypt, Asia Minor, and the Holy Land, specializing in botany, but making observations in other branches of physical science. After his death his collections—comprising dried plants, specimens of rocks and soils, drugs, serpents, insects, Arabic MSS., and Egyptian mummies—were seized by his creditors, to whom he owed £350. Linnæus could not lay his hand on the money at the moment, but the Queen of Sweden redeemed the collections out of her own private purse. She also directed Linnæus to arrange and publish Dr. Hasselquist's own original MSS. "I have, accordingly," says he, in his Preface,[2] "digested the work in the best manner I could; ranged

[1] II, p. 154. Le Brun (1681–83) gives a wood-cut (No. 154) of the fossil-fish.

[2] Frid. Hasselquist: Iter Palestinum, etc. Stockholm, 1757. The above quotation is from the English edition: Voyages and Travels in the Levant in the years 1749–52, containing observations in Natural History, Physick, Agriculture, and Commerce, particularly of the Holy Land, and the Natural History of the Scriptures. Written originally in the Swedish language by the late Frederick Hasselquist, M.D. Published by order of her present Majesty the Queen of Sweden, by Charles Linnæus. London, 1766.

everything under its proper tribe; added names to animals and plants; altered the technical terms and manner of writing, without changing in the least the author's meaning." Hasselquist's journals appear to have been published with little alteration, as well as his letters to Linnæus, but the tabulated lists were compiled by his master. To him the original notes gave every assistance, as they furnish precious indications of date and locality. In the section entitled the "Natural History of Palestine" the items are arranged according to geographical distribution. The heading of another section reads: "Plants and animals mentioned in Scripture: those that may and may not be identified in the present land." In Hasselquist's journals we can follow the wide range of his interests. He notes at Bethlehem "a compendious method of watering the earth in dry weather," an ingenious device by which a peasant may plough the earth and water it at the same time.[1] He carefully follows the methods of bee-keeping in Galilee.[2] At Sidon he seizes a long-looked-for opportunity to observe the habits of the silk-worm[3]—a study that he had been unable to pursue before, owing to a wide-spread superstition that the eye of a stranger blights the life of the worm.[4]

[1] P. 146. [2] P. 154. [3] P. 167.

[4] Other botanical works of this century are as follows: Hierophyticon sive Commentarius in loca Scriptura, etc., by M. Hillerus, 1706; the Hierobotanicon sive de Plantis Scripturæ Sacræ, by A. Celsius, 1745; the Natural History of Aleppo, by Alexander Russell, 1756, noteworthy for its carefully prepared list of the Oriental names applied to the Flora of the East; the Flora Palestinæ, by B. T. Strand, 1756.

In 1783–85 Volney made a considerable contribution to the Physical Geography of Syria and Palestine.[1] His work, which deals rather with the modern conditions of the land than with the past, is divided into two parts: État Physique and État Politique. Though based on personal travels, the account does not take the narrative form. His broad outlines, showing a firm grasp on his subject, are filled in with a wealth of picturesque detail. He deals with his material in a scientific, philosophic spirit, thus sounding again the note of Shaw. In the department of popular meteorology he advances upon the latter.

Far more scientific are the meteorological notes of Rüppell (1826–31),[2] but these touch only the edge of our subject at the point where they deal with Arabia Petræa. Besides long lists of meteorological and astronomical observations, taken daily, we find notes on the Arab tribes—their classification, character, and habits. In the matter of geology Rüssegger (1836–38) [3] may be said to have led the way, though judicious notes touching on this subject and on general physical characteristics may be found scat-

[1] C. Volney, Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, etc., Paris, 1787. See also Oeuvres Completes de Volney, Paris, 1837.

[2] Eduard Rüppell: Reisen in Nubien, Kordofan, und den Petraïschen Arabien, Frankfurt, 1829. Also: Reisen in Abyssinien, Frankfurt, 1838–40. In the latter work the author describes another visit to the peninsula of Sinai taken in 1831 in order to make more accurate observations of the elevations of the mountains.

[3] Reisen in Europa, Asien und Afrika, etc., unternommen in den Jahren 1835 bis 1841, von Joseph Rüssegger. Stuttgart, 1841–49.

tered through the works of Seetzen, Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, Laborde, von Schubert, etc.[1]

Having now followed the trend of exploration from Fabri to Robinson along the specialized lines of research, I must, at the risk of some repetition, take a rapid chronological view of the chief among the visitors to the Holy Land during this period. From this great horde each historian, who would seek to illustrate the period by examples, is bound to make a choice differing in some particulars from that of every other. Ritter, in his critical bibliography, accords the highest praise to writers to whose names Robinson does not affix the distinguishing star. In the present sketch, while endeavoring to include every great writer, I have also noticed a few whose general intrinsic importance is slight, but who, by fitting into some particular niche, or by illustrating some characteristic failing, serve to fill out my story of the development of Palestine Exploration, understood in a broad sense.

Belon du Mans (1548) and Rauwolf (1673–75) have already been sufficiently considered, as their value is largely in the field of physical observation.[2] In the Fleming Johann Zuallart (better known by the Italianized form of his name—Zuallardo) the religious element is dominant, ranking

[1] During the first third of the nineteenth century the contributions to Botany were not many. However, Clarke (1801) in his preface claims to have added "not less than 60 new discovered species" to the science; Seetzen (1805–7) and von Schubert (1837) also paid especial attention to the subject.

[2] For titles of works of authors already mentioned, see foot-notes to pp. 137–55.

him, indeed, with genuine pilgrims, though with pilgrims of the more educated class; but he is differentiated from his predecessors by his successful attempt to illustrate his work with sketches and ground-plans made by himself.[1] Prominent among these is a bird's-eye view of Jerusalem as it was in his day, on which is marked the theoretic line of the second wall in a manner to include the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In another are seen the ruins of the Crusading Castle of Toron, near the western border of the Judean Hills, but in a far more complete condition than they are now. The rock-hewn scarp which towers to-day above the Protestant Cemetery in Jerusalem, and which once formed the southwest angle of the city, appears in his picture of Mt. Zion. Other engravings show the Ecce Homo Arch, the Via Dolorosa, the monuments in the Kedron Valley, various views of the Holy Sepulchre, Bethany, Bethlehem, Jaffa, Tripoli, etc. Many of these engravings were copied by writers for forty years, by Cotovicus of Utrecht (1598–99), by the Englishman Sandys (1611), and by the Spaniard Castillo (1627).

Zuallardo's party spent only seventeen days in the Holy Land proper, confining their visits to Jerusalem and the immediate vicinity. On their return to Jaffa, the pilgrims proceeded by sea to Tripoli, whence they waited almost a month for a ship to Venice. Ample leisure was thus given Zuallardo for exploring the only Syrian town visited by him.

[1] The work is rare. An excellent *resumé* of its contents by Conder is found in Q. S., 1902, pp. 97–105.

His account is rich in detail, especially as regards the different costumes worn by Turks, local Moslems, Greeks, Maronites, and Jews.

It is not difficult to agree with Robinson, who declares that the work of Johann Kootwyk (Latinized form: Cotovicus) (1598–99) is more complete and important than any other of the sixteenth or preceding centuries. But as I have already dwelt upon what appears to me to be his most important contribution, namely, the discriminating archæological notes which mark him a pioneer in this science, I can here give only a passing tribute to his exact description of routes, his learned marginal references, his close observation, his condensed style. It should be noted, however, that he owes much to the voyage of Zuallart, copying not only his pictures, but apparently also various prayers and hymns repeated by the monks.

George Sandys, whose visit to Palestine formed only a part of extended travels made in 1610–11, states that according to his knowledge his account of Jerusalem and its vicinity is the first written in the English language.[1] In this he declares his aim to be "to deliver the reader from many erring reports of the too credulous devotee, and too, too vain-glorious." His aim he accomplishes, presenting a picture of the natural features of the city and of the Holy sites with fidelity and without exaggeration. The extent of his trip was curtailed by the danger of travel in his day; the clearness and precision with which he details the routes he was able

[1] Sandys, p. 120.

to take lead us to regret his enforced limitations. Listen to this little description of his ride from Gaza to Ramleh:[1] "We passed this day through the most pleasant and pregnant valley that eye ever beheld. On the right hand a ridge of high mountains (whereon stands Hebron); on the left hand the Mediterranean Sea bordered with continued hills, beset with variety of fruits. . . . The champion between, about twenty miles over, full of flowery hills ascending leisurely, and not much surmounting their ranker valleys, with groves of olives and other fruits dispersedly adorned." As I read, many half-forgotten details of this route, taken so often over ten years ago, when Gaza was the post-town of my camp at Tell-el-Hesy, rise before me with delightful vividness.

The single letter in which the great traveller Pietro Della Valle (1616) describes his journey from Cairo to Aleppo along the ordinary pilgrim routes, adds little or nothing to our previously gained knowledge of the land.[2] But the Vatican Library preserves to-day a precious monument of this rapid trip in the copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch—said to be the first ever brought to Europe—which, together with a copy of the Targum, he bought at Damascus.

The huge work of Francesco Quaresmio (1616–26) is the apotheosis of scholasticism. In it the tradi-

[1] Sandys, p. 117.

[2] Viaggè di Pietro Della Valle il Pellegrino. . . . Descritti da lui medesimo in 54 Lettere familiari, etc. Roma, 1650. Also in many other editions and in translations into French, English, German, and Dutch.

tions of the Holy Places, largely erroneous, which had been increasing for years, took on a stereotyped form which has enjoyed little variation since in ecclesiastical circles. The book is full of learning, but this is often learning running riot around matters essentially trivial. The colossal prolixity of the writer lures him sometimes into a sort of "House-that-Jack-built" treatment of his material. We find a series of chapters expounding the difficulties in understanding the reasons why God allowed the Holy Sepulchre to be possessed and devastated by infidels; probable reasons for said possession and devastation; objections to these reasons; answers to these objections, and so on *ad infinitum.* It is not sufficient to have a whole chapter devoted to the discovery of the crown of thorns and the nails by which the Lord was fastened; this must be followed by another entitled "The condition of the crown of thorns and the number of the nails." It is worthy of note that Quaresmio refutes to his own satisfaction the arguments of "Western Heretics"—topographical and other—directed against the authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre.[1] Thus early had scepticism in regard to the traditional sites begun to voice itself.

The subject-matter, whatever may be its scientific value, is arranged in eight books. Book I gives the boundaries and divisions of the Holy Land, with elaborate accounts of the religious sects, Christian and otherwise. In Book II we find the Latin Orders described at length, besides sections on In-

[1] Lib. v, Peregr. ii, Cap. 14.

dulgences. Book III treats the subject of pilgrimage theoretically, while Books IV to VIII (inclusive) tabulate the various routes and stations of the pilgrimages in a systematic manner. For example, the first pilgrimage from Jaffa to Jerusalem has ten sub-headings of places (Loci). The full history of a place is given *in loco*. While Quaresmio often refers to his own experiences, the itineraries do not take the personal form. There are gaps between itinerary and itinerary such as the leap from Beyrout to Tripoli. The work is illustrated with well-engraved pictures and plans.

We have already noticed the scientific pretensions as well as the shrewd archæological observations of Monconys (1647–48.) Equally shrewd are his condensed, very clear notes on everything that catches his eye during his somewhat rapid journey from Jerusalem to Adana. I find, to name one example, the route between Baalbec and the Cedars, which crosses the backbone of the Lebanon, described with detail which, though brief, is strikingly accurate.

Early in the third quarter of this seventeenth century two Frenchmen travelled in Palestine, recording their impressions in works of some importance, but of very different quality. The personal investigations of M. J. Doubdan, Canon of St. Denis, were confined mainly to the vicinity of Jerusalem and Nazareth, but he supplemented his observations by abundant quotations from the chief writers of Classic, Patristic, and Mediæval times. He saw nothing new, he saw a small part of what had been described before, but he exhibits a learning and research which

gives real value to his work. The Chevalier D'Arvieux, gentleman of Provence, illustrates the debt that Exploration owes to Commerce. His connection with the French Factory at Sidon from 1658 to 1665 gave him abundant opportunities to travel all over the country with the especial facilities for obtaining accurate information as to its actual condition available to a man of affairs, able to converse with the natives in the vernacular. These opportunities he used with intelligence. His accounts of the chief cities — their public buildings, gardens, produce, commerce—are full and authoritative. Interwoven with the narrative is much current history, richly illustrative of folk-lore. From his itemized list of expenses we are able to know the cost of a tour in the Holy Land during his day. A visit to the Grand Emir, Chief of the Arab Princes, encamped at Mt. Carmel, furnishes him with material for more than a score of chapters on the Manners and Customs of the Arabs.[1] Different as were their points of view, both D'Arvieux and Doubdan seemed to feel the necessity of describing the landmarks along their routes so clearly that "the wayfaring men, though fools, should not err therein." In this precision their contemporary and fellow-countryman Thevenot shares: at a perplexing point of cross-roads he tells you which path to take, which to avoid. Thevenot, however, has little to add to our subject. He took

[1] Before the Mémoires, appeared, this account was published separately under the title Voyage dans Palestine vers le Grand Emir, etc., edited by De la Roque. Paris, 1717; Amsterdam, 1718. Note that D'Arvieux was also Consul in Aleppo, 1682–86.

few routes, but described many, filling in his own *lacunæ* from the accounts of others, but without showing the learning of Doubdan.[1]

The Jesuit Father Michel Nau is one of the earliest examples of the missionary—explorer—a type so well illustrated during the last century both by Roman Catholics and Protestants. Robinson ranks him with Maundrell and Pococke as among the leading travellers to Palestine. We have already noticed that he is the first to record the association of Tell-Hum with Capernaum. Robinson notes that the Crusading Castle of Toron, referred to by Nau when he passed that way in 1674, had been apparently unvisited and unknown since the time of the Crusades. He surely must have had ample opportunity for visiting out-of-the-way places, as, according to De la Roque, he passed thirty years in the land. De la Roque himself (1688–89) made considerable pretensions in the geographical line, which were, however, misguided. His attempt, as he sailed along the coast between Tripoli and Sidon, to square Strabo's description of Lebanon and Anti-Libanus as running in parallel lines eastward from the coast with his own observations which naturally contradicted this absurd statement—this attempt led him into an equally absurd set of statements about double triangles with bases almost touching, presenting the appearance of an apparently continuous ridge facing the sea! Thus Tyre, for him, was at the foot of the Anti-Libanus. More edifying are his accounts of his

[1] Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant . . . par M. de Thévenot. Paris, 1665. Also published later under other titles. See Röhricht.

actual visit to the Lebanon, and of the ruins of Baalbec, which we have already noticed.

On February 27, 1697, the Rev. Henry Maundrell, Chaplain of the English Factory at Aleppo, started for Jerusalem to witness the Easter ceremonies. The published diary of his trip went through numerous editions, and was translated into French, German, and Dutch. Says Robinson: "His book is the report of a shrewd and keen observer, and still remains perhaps the best work on those parts of the country through which he travelled." Turning to the diary we find the four traits—eminently characteristic of Robinson himself—which doubtless operated in securing to Maundrell such high praise from his critical successor: minute observation; fertility in suggesting theories; abstention from dogmatism in presenting these; acknowledgment of self-limitations. While travelling along the coast north of Tripoli, Maundrell is on the lookout for the river Eleutherus, following the somewhat indefinite indications of the classical geographers, and aware that the identification with the river Kasmîyeh between Tyre and Sidon, commonly held in his day,[1] must be incorrect. To this end he notes all the streams in the plain of Junieh—among these, the Nahr-el-Kebîr, the real Eleutherus, making several suggestions and summing up as follows: "But I will not determine

[1] Maundrell is apparently unaware that the identification held in his day was questioned by De la Roque, who also places the Eleutherus in the plain of Junieh. Doubts had previously been expressed by Doubdan.

anything on this point, contenting myself to have given an account of several rivers as we passed them."[1] After noting that the apse of the otherwise ruined church at Tyre stood tolerably complete, he makes the following observation, based on an examination of a hundred ruined churches: "Whether the Christians when overrun by infidels redeemed their altars from ruin with money; or, whether even the barbarians, when they demolished the other parts of the churches, might voluntarily spare these out of an Awe and Veneration; or, whether they have stood thus long, by reason of some peculiar Firmness in the nature of their Fabrick; or whether some occult Providence has preserved them . . . I will not determine. . . . This might justly seem a trifling Observation were it founded upon a few examples only. But it being a Thing so often, and indeed so universally observed by us, through our whole journey, I thought it must needs proceed from something more than blind Chance, and might very well deserve this Animadversion."[2] Such passages which illustrate Maundrell's temper of mind cause us to regret that so candid, so scientific a writer was only incidentally an explorer, that he travelled so hastily and along only a few routes. Leaving the sea-coast at Acre, he struck across the plain of Esdraelon to Samaria and thence proceeded to Jerusalem. His journey back to Sidon was practically by the same route with a *détour* to Nazareth. From Sidon he crossed the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon to Damascus. On his return to the coast

[1] P. 25. [2] P. 49.

from that city he visited Baalbec and the Cedars. His archæological observations we have noticed in a previous paragraph. But he does not pay much attention to Scriptural Identifications. He slept at Lejjûn on the plain of Esdraelon, but he makes reference neither to Megiddo nor to the neighboring Jezreel. However, he questions the traditional site of the Mount of Transfiguration at Tabor.[1] At Jerusalem he confined himself principally to visiting the places ordinarily shown to travellers, but he paced the circuit of the city walls, declaring their circumference to be two and a half miles, not far from the correct figure.

We have now to consider a work of "composite authorship," in which, however, the initial letters, by which the two manuscripts might be denoted, represent the names of historical persons, and the "redactor" was an ordinary physician in Leyden. John Heyman, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Leyden, travelled in the East from 1700 to 1709; the journeys of J. E. Van Egmond, Dutch Ambassador at Naples, were taken between the years 1720 and 1723. Many years after, Dr. J. W. Heyman fused together their journals in such a way that the observations of the two travellers are not distinguished. The question whether they can be distinguished without a harking back to the original diaries, I leave for polychrome critics to consider. In the meantime, in the absence of an indefinite English pronoun, the use of the third person plural may be conceded me despite its inaccuracy.

[1] P. 113.

It has already been hinted that these Dutch Protestants tried to free themselves from the incubus of unintelligent tradition. At the Dead Sea, which they visited under especial escort, they disproved by actual experiment the statement reiterated from hoary antiquity to their own time that birds flying over its surface fell dead by reason of the horrible effluvia emanating from the water. Plucking the wing feathers from some birds, they let them loose on the sea and watched to see what would happen. After a short flight the birds "fell into, or rather upon, the sea" and got safe ashore.[1] They attribute the origin of the so-called Greek fire to ecclesiastical policy, noting that while the Romish Fathers were avowedly doing their best to expose the "juggle and delusion," they date the deceit only from the schism, holding that the fire did previously have the virtue of not consuming those that handled it.[2] Geography and Scriptural identification receive little attention, and this little is often wrong. For example, it is suggested that the remains of a town at the end of the Lake of Tiberias may possibly represent Beth-shean (Scythopolis), which really is some fifteen miles to the south.[3] But the Dutch travellers are among the first to give a true account of the origin and of some of the tenets of the Druses, in regard to whom so much nonsense had been believed.[4] As late as 1647 Monconys had declared that they were descendants of the Crusaders, but had lost the Christian religion through neglect to practise its rites; as

[1] Vol. i, p. 339.
[2] Vol. i, p. 357.
[3] Vol. ii, p. 38.
[4] Vol. ii, pp. 293 ff.

they had not embraced Mohammedanism, they were without any religion.[1] Our authors recognize Hamza as the real founder of this sect early in the eleventh century, but show that its name was derived from Durzi, who preached the doctrine in Syria.[2]

We have noticed how scepticism in regard to the authenticity of the sites enshrined in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre aroused the indignation of Quaresmio early in the seventeenth century. About 100 years later the subject was vigorously handled by Jonas Korte (1738), a bookseller of Altona. One of his chapters he boldly entitles: "Concerning Mt. Calvary, which now lies in the middle of the city and cannot therefore be the true Calvary."[3] Without assigning a reason for his own view, he places Calvary to the west of Jerusalem, on a slight elevation southeast of the Birket Mamilla.

In form the magnificent folios of Pococke (1738) are much more pretentious than anything that came before him. Turning over the pages of his "Description of the East" we are struck by the wealth of illustration and the numerous maps and plans. Close inspection brings disappointment. His plan of Jerusalem and its environs is a topographical joke. Robinson, without much exaggeration, observes that it can hardly be said to bear the slightest resem-

[1] See Monconys, vol. i, p. 336.

[2] Apart from his valuable observations on antiquities, physical geography, and natural history, noticed sufficiently before, little is added to our subject by Thomas Shaw, who travelled in Palestine in 1722, and later became Professor of Greek at Oxford.

[3] Jonas Kortens, ehemaligen Büchhandlers zu Altona, Reise nach dem gelobten Lande, Aegypten, Syrien med Mesopotamien, Altona, 1741, etc.

blance to its original. The professed copies of the Sinaitic inscriptions are equally misleading. But the letter-press contains much of value. Richard Pococke (who died in 1765 as Bishop of Meath) was a scholar, though his learning was along classical rather than along Biblical lines. Still, in matters of Biblical Identification he attempts with considerable success to break the bonds of ecclesiastical tradition. He denies that the Vale of Elah is identical with the Wady Beit Hanîna near Jerusalem, on the ground that the Bible places it between Shocoh and Azekah, which he rightly says must have been farther west.[1] Dothan, he observes, could not have been at the Crusading site north of the Sea of Galilee, but was probably somewhere near Shechem.[2] He refuses to locate Shiloh at Neby Samwîl, placing it on his map ten miles south of Shechem, very near the true site of Seilûn.[3] He discusses the merits of the rival Canas,[4] and correctly identifies Gibeon with ej-Jib,[5] Dor with Tantûra.[6] The rock-cut channel which connects the Pool of Siloam with the Virgin's Fountain he wrongly supposes on hearsay to lead down into the Pool from the Temple.[7] And yet he almost hits the truth in his

[1] Vol. ii, p. 47. [2] Vol. ii, p. 77. [3] Vol. ii, p. 50.
[4] Vol. ii, p. 66. [5] Vol. ii, p. 49. [6] Vol. ii, p. 57.

[7] Vol. ii, p. 24. Pococke shows considerable confusion in regard to this district. He places conjecturally the Pool of Bethesda at the site usually regarded as the Pool of Siloam. The true Pool of Siloam he suggests may be the Lower Pool. Water once flowed into it, he says, from the Fountain of Siloam, which he identifies with the Virgin's Well. The true course of the Siloam Tunnel he does not know. How then does he suppose that the water flowed from the Virgin's Well to the Old Pool ? The levels are against this connection being through the Valley. We are led to conclude that hearsay was responsible for most of his statements.

suggestion that the water from the Virgin's Fountain "was carried in under the city by channels leading to certain reservoirs from which they might draw up the water." Such a passage leading off from the Siloam Tunnel under the hill of Ophel was found by Sir Charles Warren.[1] These examples will serve to show the trend of inquiry at this period when the subject of identification was opened up anew without being pursued with much minute investigation. Scepticism had taken the place of blind subservience to tradition, but it had not as yet been accompanied by positive reconstruction. Pococke, as we have just seen, will not accept the Crusading Vale of Elah, neither will he take the trouble to ride in search of the right site in the region west of Jerusalem where he supposes it generally to lie.

Between March 10, 1738, when Pococke embarked at Damietta for Joppa, and October 25th of the same year, when he set sail from Tripoli for Cyprus, he had travelled very extensively over Palestine and Syria. He had carefully explored the coast from Cæsarea to Latakîa, a distance of some 250 miles. He had taken some unusual routes in Galilee, such as following the Jordan from the waters of Merom to the Sea of Tiberias. He had crossed the Lebanon to Baalbec, proceeding thence to Damascus. During his stay at this place he took several excursions, one a day's journey to the south on the Jerusalem road; one to the northeast, visiting Ma'lula, where, strange to say, he ignores its chief point of interest, namely, the survival of the Ara-

[1] Recovery of Jerusalem, pp. 194 ff.

maic as a living dialect; and a third to the temple of Fîjeh above the secondary source of the Barada. Leaving Damascus he proceeded north to Aleppo, visiting Hums, Hama, Ma'arrah. From Aleppo he struck eastward to the banks of the Euphrates. On his journey down the Syrian coast he crossed over to the Island of Ruad, a spot unvisited by Maundrell, and probably also by Shaw, whose style of description leaves uncertain just what places he personally examined. To his observations relating to the antiquities of the Syrian coast Renan pays the compliment of frequent quotation. Among important omissions we note that he failed to explore Philistia, Western Judea, and Eastern Samaria. Sinai was visited the next year, but is described in the first volume dealing with Egypt.

The work of the next distinguished traveller, the botanist Hasselquist (1749–53), has already been sufficiently noticed in our review of the researches in Natural History. The Abbé Mariti[1] should be mentioned for his excellent portrayal of native life. Carsten Niebuhr (1766) is called by Robinson "the Prince of Oriental travellers; exact, judicious, and persevering." Unfortunately for our subject, his Principality lay in Arabia, the treasures of which he freely exhibits. His visit to the Holy Land was brief and hurried, and the observations there made are very general in character. His plans of some of the towns through which he passed are merely rude

[1] Viaggi per l'Isola die Cipro e per la Soria e Palestina fatti da Giovanni Mariti Fiorentino dall' anno 1760 al 1768, Lucca 1769–76, etc. Often translated.

sketches.[1] Our review of eighteenth century explorers closes with the name of Volney (1783–85), who, without intruding an account of his own personal adventures, presents in a series of essays a well-arranged mass of new and instructive detail, especially in regard to the Lebanon.

Dr. Edward Daniel Clarke, who passed only seventeen days in Palestine in 1801, demands our attention as the prototype of some later Anglo-Saxon Protestants, who, determining not "to peer through the spectacles of priests," in their reaction against traditional "holy places," have hastily picked out rival sites and have supported these by argumentation, at once hazy and audacious.[2] Clarke regards it to be probable that the Hill of Evil Counsel, separated from the traditional Zion by the deep Wady-er-Rabâbeh identified by him conjecturally with the Tyropoeon, may be the true Zion.[3] "Ruined walls and the remains of sumptuous edifices"(!) appear to him to show that the summit was once within the city walls. The tombs on its slopes may include the Royal Sepulchres. Another rock-chamber may be the tomb of Christ. As he has stated that this tomb was clearly without the city, one wonders in what convenient line he would draw the wall from the Temple to this hill, at once to include its

[1] C. Niebuhr's Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Länden. Bd. I and II, Copenhagen, 1774–78. Bd. III, Hamburg, 1837. It is this last volume that contains the account of the Palestine trip.

[2] Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, by Edward Daniel Clarke, LL.D., Cambridge, 1810–23.

[3] Part II, Sec. I, chaps. xvi. and xvii.

summit and to exclude this particular tomb. One is further tempted to wonder whether his theories were anything more serious than the outcome of his enthusiasm in exploiting his supposed "discoveries." Clarke describes with much exaggeration monuments that several travellers had mentioned before. While he concedes that Sandys may have alluded to these tombs in his brief notice of "divers sepulchres" in the Wady-er-Rabâbeh, he is ignorant of the references in Fabri, Maundrell, and Pococke. We must credit this enthusiasm, however, with one good result: he was the first to make a copy of the inscriptions. Clarke's absurd theory in regard to Zion gained no lasting support. Would that those following his fanciful methods in the matter of identification had done as little mischief!

It has already been noted that the earlier decades of the nineteenth century were signalized by the exploration of Eastern and Southern Palestine. On April 9, 1807, the pioneer explorer of these districts affixed on the wall of a chamber in the convent at Mt. Sinai a paper inscribed (in French) to this effect: "U. J. Seetzen, called Mousa, a German traveller, M.D. and recorder (Assesseur) of the College of H. M. the Emperor of all the Russias in the Seigneurie of Jever in Germany, came to visit the Convent of St. Catherine, the Mountains of Horeb, Moses and St. Catherine, etc.; after having traversed all the ancient Eastern provinces of Palestine, namely: Batanea, Decapolis, Gileaditis, Ammonitis, Amorrhitis, and Moabitis, as far as the frontiers of Gebelene (Idumea) and after having twice made the

tour of the Dead Sea, and having crossed the desert of Arabia Petræa, between the town of Hebron and Mt. Sinai, after a sojourn of ten days he continued his journey to the town of Suez."[1] What a catalogue of previously unexplored sites is this! But Seetzen did not confine himself to unexplored districts. Leaving Aleppo in April, 1805, after a sojourn of over a year, spent in mastering the Arabic language, he trod in Southern Syria and Western Palestine all the familiar paths, from which, however, he frequently diverged. Every department of knowledge interested this indefatigable traveller: he collected lists of the names of villages which he could not visit; he tabulated all the little streams about Kerak; he copied some 150 Greek inscriptions; he made a list of Arab race-horses; he paid careful attention to the mineralogy, zoology, and botany. But he did not live to put the result of his painstaking and judicious researches into book form. In 1811 he died, the victim to poison, in Arabia. More than fifty years later his journals, comprising his daily jottings up to his arrival in Egypt, were published in Berlin. Those who wish to follow Seetzen's well-considered conclusions, as well as the tale of his wanderings, may compare these journals with his letters previously published in Zach's *Monatliche Correspondenz.* Seetzen illustrated the advantage held by an explorer who is a doctor as well. In his true character of a Christian physician in the Holy Land, ne allayed the Bedawîn's suspicion of his

[1] This paper was seen by Burckhardt; see his Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p 553.

paper and pencil by collecting herbs and curious stones. In the Hedjaz he passed as a Moslem doctor.

The travels of 'Ali Bey el 'Abbassi in Syria and Palestine, in 1807,[1] have a certain curious interest that does not centre in his observations on antiquities, which are meagre, nor his account of the condition of the land at his time, which, though full, is sometimes superficial. Many tourists have travelled in disguise, but his is the only case known to me of a traveller who preserves his disguise in his book. For four years continuously the Spanish Christian Badia y Leblich, with the purpose of founding a European colony in Morocco, passed himself off as a Moslem, deceiving alike the Frenchman Châteaubriand, whom he met at Alexandria, and the Emperor of Morocco, whom he visited on his native soil. His book gives no hint of his real origin. His observations on the Turks conclude with this sentence: "Therefore though a Mussulman myself, I must own that the Turks are still barbarians." [2] In the guise of a Moslem he journeyed to Mecca, where he escaped the vigilance of the official poisoner. In the guise of a Moslem he entered the Mosque at Hebron, where he was shown the cenotaphs of the Patriarchs, though he did not seem to be aware of the real tombs in the cave below. He was welcomed also in the Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem, closed to all but the

[1] The Travels of 'Ali Bey el 'Abbassi in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Syria, and Turkey between the years 1803 and 1807. London and Philadelphia, 1816.

[2] Vol. ii, p. 411.

followers of Mohammed, and took measurements of the interior.[1] Two old men lying in wait for blackmail between Ramleh and Jerusalem, noting that his burnoose was of blue, a color worn by Christians only, seized his bridle, shouting: "Thou art a Christian;" nor were they satisfied till the rider declared that he had just performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, repeating as proof the Mohammedan faith.[2] On his return by the same road, some days later, the same two old men received him with extravagant signs of penitence, weeping and kissing his feet. They had meanwhile been told that the traveller whom they had insulted was no less than the son of the Emperor of Morocco. "'Ali Bey" is supposed to have died while on a second journey toward Mecca in 1810, and to have been buried at the Castle of Belka, on the Haj route.

The work of the celebrated Frenchman Châteaubriand (1806–7)[3] anticipates that of his fellow-countryman Lamartine (1832–33)[4] by his brilliant and poetic style, as well as by his inaccuracy. To Châteaubriand, however, we are indebted for his description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre before the great damage it received two years after his visit. To him also are indebted the dogmatists holding to the authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre for what Robinson calls "the clearest and most

[1] Vol. ii, p. 215. [2] Vol. ii, p. 242.

[3] Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem, etc., Paris, 1811, etc., etc., also in many translations.

[4] Souvenirs, Impressions, et Paysages, pendant un voyage en Orient, etc., par Alphonse de Lamartine, Paris, 1835. Often translated.

plausible statement of the historic testimony and probabilities which may be supposed to have had an influence in determining the spot."[1] "Eloquent and superficial;" thus curtly Robinson dismisses Châteaubriand in his bibliography. Lamartine he does not notice. Robinson's interest is confined to scientific merits. But there is another side to the question. A painted landscape may be correct in broad outlines as well as in its smallest details, but there will be no picture if atmosphere is wanting. Atmosphere is the contribution made to our subject by Châteaubriand and Lamartine, lending to their descriptions a general light of truth not always paralleled by their details. Von Schubert, who travelled in 1836–37 as a specialist in natural history, and who was a serious scholar in general, improves upon these writers by illuminating his more correct details with an equally true atmosphere.[2] It was left to George Adam Smith, the successor of von Schubert by half a century, to flood his broad outlines with a light that throws into proper perspective every minute feature accurately painted on his stupendous canvas.[3]

But we must return to the earlier decades of the century. The travels of Johannes Ludwig Burckhardt in the Holy Land were in intention only a preparation for the exploration of a country far less known. In 1809 the English "Association for promoting the discovery of the Interior parts of

[1] Rob. Res., i, p 411.

[2] Reise in das Morgenland in den Jahren 1836 und 1837 von Dr. Gotthilf Heinreich von Schubert. Erlangen, 1838–39.

[3] Historical Geography of the Holy Land, 1894.

Africa" sent this Swiss explorer to Aleppo "to acquire the language and manners of an Arabian Mussulman in such a degree of perfection as should render the detection of his real character extremely difficult." To this same end he was instructed to make occasional tours in the parts of Syria least frequented by European travellers. The main object of his mission was defeated by his death at Cairo in 1817, at the moment when he was preparing for immediate departure for Fezzan. However, his journals, published posthumously, afford important information in regard to Egypt, Nubia, Arabia, Mt. Sinai, and the eastern and southern parts of the Holy Land. It is with these last-mentioned districts that we are here concerned.

How thorough a preparation he made for the mission which he was destined never to accomplish is illustrated by almost every page of his journals. On the one hand, he shrank from no necessary privation or suffering; on the other, he allowed no legitimate curiosity to interfere with his future plans. On his first tour in the Haurân he reluctantly but deliberately gave up a visit to Draa because he could get no guide, following his constant rule not to expose himself at any hazard, "well knowing," to quote his words, "that this was not the place where duty and honour obliged me to do so; on the contrary, I felt that I should not be justified in risking my life in this quarter, destined as I am to other and it is hoped more important pursuits."[1] A visit to the attractive site of Bozra

[1] Burckhardt, p. 109.

was also omitted from this tour—though the loss was made good later, under other conditions—not because the route was dangerous, but because he feared to meet in the garrison Moggrebyn soldiers, who, as they often passed from one service to another, might later recognize him in Egypt.[1] He satisfied the wonder of his guards at this omission by declaring that he had been warned of God in a dream not to visit Bozra. Indeed, his fertility of resource was boundless. In his wanderings he wore the native dress, now passing for a manufacturer of gunpowder, now as a lay brother sent by the Greek Patriarch of Damascus, now, like Seetzen, as a physician in quest of herbs. His discovery of the long-lost and hitherto inaccessible Petra was due to his declaring to the Bedawîn that he had vowed to slaughter a goat in honor of Aaron, whose alleged tomb is on Mt. Hor near Wady-Mûsa. This sacrifice he actually offered with one eye gazing up at the tomb and the other making scientific observations, while his guide exclaimed: "O Haroun! look upon us! it is for you we slaughter this victim! O Haroun! protect us and forgive us! O Haroun! be content with our good intentions, for it is but a lean goat! O Haroun! smooth our paths and praise be to the Lord of all creatures!"[2]

The principal geographical discoveries of Burckhardt are summed up by his editor as follows:[3] "The nature of the country between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Aelana, now Akaba; the extent, conformation, and detailed topography of the Haouran; the

[1] P. 104. [2] Pp. 430–31. [3] See preface, P. V.

site of Apameia on the Orontes . . . the site of Petra . . . and the general structure of the peninsula of Mt. Sinai, together with many new facts in its geography." The innate justice of the man is shown by his giving credit, wherever it is due, to his predecessor, Seetzen. And he is as modest as he is just. He makes no boast of his discovery of the site of Petra, which Seetzen inquired for in vain. He is content merely to suggest its identification with the rock-cut city in the Wady-Mûsa, proposing to leave the discussion to Greek scholars.[1] He apologizes for the incompleteness of his notes here, due to the enforced brevity of his visit. We may add that his observations were supplemented in 1828 by the splendid plates accompanying the work of Laborde and Linant.

It is to be regretted that Burckhardt's plans prevented his including Western Palestine in the field of his acute observation. His determination to avoid well-known routes kept him away from Jerusalem and the rest of Judea, from Samaria, Southern Phœnicia, Philistia, and most of Galilee. At Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee alone did he touch important places in Western Palestine proper.

In striking contrast to the modest record of Burckhardt are the volumes of J. S. Buckingham.[2] "I

[1] P. 431.

[2] Travels in Palestine through the countries of Bashan and Gilead, etc., London, 1821. See also Travels among the Arab tribes inhabiting the countries east of Syria and Palestine, including a journey from Nazareth to the mountains beyond the Dead Sea, and from thence through the plains of the Haurân to Bozra, Damascus, Tripoli, etc., and by the Valley of the Orontes to Seleucia, Antioch, and Aleppo. London, 1825.

crossed the country,'' he boasts in his preface, ''in a greater number and variety of directions than has ever been done by any individual traveller before, as far as I am aware of.'' He affirms that his travels in Bashan and Gilead may be termed ''entirely new,'' as the discoveries of Burckhardt and Seetzen ''were scarcely known even by name.'' Had he taken the trouble to find out where Seetzen went, he would not have made his first statement. This boastfulness brought down upon him the critics who accused him of appropriating part of the honors due to Burckhardt's discoveries. In point of fact, he was greatly Burckhardt's inferior in the matter of sober, scientific observation. If his accounts of places are stripped of the attempted historical discussions, his material often appears meagre enough. However, the description of Gerasa and Gamala are very full. Ritter, after recognizing his faults, gives him the credit for having secured by his ''careful examination of angles, distances, levels, and the like,'' very important data that enabled Berghaus to complete his great map.

Charles Leonard Irby and James Mangles, commanders in the Royal Navy, impelled at first by curiosity and then by an increasing admiration of antiquities, spent nine months in Syria and Palestine, in 1817–18, following the usual tourist paths and also taking new routes, especially to the east of the Dead Sea. They were prompted to make an excursion into this region by the chance to accompany Mr. William John Bankes, whose zest for travel had already led him to explore Asia Minor, Greece, and

Egypt. Dr. Thomas Legh was also one of the party. The brief but accurate observations of Irby and Mangles touching very divers points of interest are found in their letters, published at first for private and later for public circulation.[1] Legh's notes on the adventures of the party and on the habits of the Arabs were also given to the world.[2] But Bankes, "whose zeal [so writes Legh], intelligence, and unwearied assiduity in copying inscriptions, delineating remains of antiquity, and ascertaining points of curious classical research [at Petra] cannot be surpassed"—Bankes published nothing in regard to the Holy Land, not even an account of this most important trip, and thereby occupies a unique place among explorers. When we remember how the story of Palestine exploration—especially in its later chapters—abounds in the names of those whose haste to rush into print is motived by an anxiety to proclaim a supposed priority in visiting a given locality, it is refreshing to find a man who enjoyed exploration purely for its own sake, however much we may regret that he remained, to use Ritter's phrase, "stubbornly reticent." It is also agreeable to notice the pleasant mutual relations of this little party, composed of three distinct elements. Perhaps their most inter-

[1] Travels through Nubia, Palestine, and Syria in 1817 and 1818. London, 1823. (Printed for private distribution.) In 1844 Murray published the work under the title Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and the Holy Land, including a journey toward the Dead Sea, etc.

[2] First published in William MacMichael's A Journey from Moscow to Constantinople, etc., under title Excursion from Jerusalem to Wady-Mûsa. See also Biblical Repository, October, 1833, pp. 613 ff.

esting discovery was that of the ruins of 'Arak-el-Emîr, which Bankes suggested might be the Castle of Hyrcanus, son of Joseph (erected circa 183 B.C.)—an identification now generally adopted.

Laborde, delineator of Petra, and explorer of the Haurân (1828); Lamartine, the brilliant impressionist (1832–33); Rüssegger, the pioneer geologist (1836–38); von Schubert, poet by nature, scholar by training (1837)—these names, already noticed, bring our chronological survey of explorers down to Robinson. But in closing this lecture we should refer to the account of a rapid journey taken in 1834 by the Duc de Raguse, chiefly valuable for its notices regarding the political condition of Syria and Palestine, while Ibrahim Pasha was still completing his conquests.[1] It is interesting to compare his account of the plain of Esdraelon, of which he says not a five-hundredth part was under cultivation, with its condition to-day, where, thanks both to Beyrout capitalists and to a securer state of things, the April traveller from Nazareth to Jenîn may rest his eye on fields of waving corn stretching away in the distance. Villages, he notes, were built far away from fountains, the inhabitants preferring to seek water at a distance rather than to risk the danger of living nearer to places where the wells would attract strangers.[2]

[1] Voyage de M. le Maréchal Duc de Raguse in Hongrie . . . en Syriè, en Palestine et en Egypte. Bruxelles, 1837.

[2] Ibid., vol. iii, pp. 22–23.

LECTURE V

EDWARD ROBINSON

In taking up the work of Robinson, it is important for us to realize what stage we have reached in the development of Palestine Exploration. He stands at the focal point where all the various lines converge. There is hardly a traveller or author considered in the previous lectures that he does not quote, there are few places mentioned—situated to the west of Jordan—that he does not visit, there is hardly a subject treated that he does not amplify or at least touch upon. Finding numberless threads twisted and knotted, he smooths them out, adds new strands of his own, and weaves all into a symmetrical pattern.

This is the place, then, swiftly to recapitulate the story which, with some detail, we have been considering. Like all histories of development, it shows periods of stagnation as well as of positive retrogression. In short, it mirrors in a series of images the Spirit of the Ages. We have seen that to the early Egyptians and Mesopotamians Syria and Palestine had little interest beyond the chance they gave for conquest or for trade. We have seen that in the day of Hebrew supremacy the Holy Land was of small account to contemporary Greeks, whose chief historian (Herodotus) refers to it only incidentally.

We have traced the wider diffusion of correct knowledge following the Eastern campaigns of Alexander the Great. In the first century before and the two centuries after the birth of Christ we have found the geography of Syria and Palestine treated by Greeks and Romans with the best science of their day. Strabo, Pliny, and Claudius Ptolemy furnished broad outlines filled in with details of more or less accuracy. In the Onomasticon of Eusebius and Jerome, who were domesticated in the Holy Land and were the first to recognize a true Biblical geography, our subject reaches a lofty point not again attained for many centuries. For from the Bordeaux Pilgrim, early in the fourth century, to the Monk Bernard, late in the ninth, Western travellers to Palestine were impelled by no other motive than worship. The pre-Crusading pilgrims cared more for the marvels associated with a place than for the way leading to it, or for a strict proof of its authenticity. Purblind children of the Dark Ages, they knew how to pray fervently; see clearly they could not. Their spiritual descendants have never ceased from the Holy Land. Year by year from the steppes of Russia countless hordes of them flock thither.

Not much improvement is found during the century of Latin Kings. Fetellus, indeed, collects a large quantity of place-names, but his attempts to locate these are indefinite. Theoderich shows the dawning of a true sense of topography in his little picture of Judea and his brief description of the environs of Jerusalem. William of Tyre makes a

creditable though somewhat jejune attempt to view the land as a whole, giving divisions and boundaries. But we applaud these efforts much as we would the superiority shown over their fellows by clever High-school boys. Carrying on the comparison to the thirteenth century, during which the Franks still had a foothold in the land, we note that Jacques de Vitry deserves honorable mention for his description of the various Christian sects; and Burchard for a more systematic arrangement of geographical facts, for his improvement upon Theoderich's Jerusalem topography, and for his tolerant spirit in dealing with Moslems and native Christians, better understood by him than by Jacques de Vitry. After the final expulsion of the Franks, we find, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, on which was breaking the dawn of the Modern World, continued advance along the same lines. Marino Sanuto's vast work repeats indeed the false identifications of Burchard and his predecessors, but he exhibits research in other quarters. The alleged Mandeville shows a charity born of his world-wide travels. Ludolph von Suchem brightens his tale of the oft-trodden routes by picturesque anecdotes and a lively style. Bertrandon de la Brocquière anticipates a modern note in strongly accentuating his personal adventures. The high-school scholars of the mediæval period are approaching their day of graduation.

In striking contrast to the Western visitors are the Moslem geographers from the middle of the ninth to the close of the fifteenth centuries. Mukaddasi

(A.D. 985) is far in advance of Theoderich, who wrote about two centuries later, though each described the land as held by his own race. In comparison with Yakût's magnificent Geographical Dictionary, written in 1225, the History of his contemporary, Jacques de Vitry, is indeed paltry stuff. The justification for our having in a previous lecture passed over the Moslem authors so cursorily lies in our conception of Exploration which assumes that explorers are alien to the land that they describe. Such indeed were the Crusaders even after their firm establishment. Such were hardly even the Persian travellers, any more than is the American an alien who visits England.

It has been shown, I think, that Felix Fabri (1483) was the first typical modern explorer, as far, at least, as his manner of treating his material is concerned. After him we have traced a gradual widening of the area of Exploration; not geographically, but in the sense of its including more subjects. The hitherto almost neglected department of archæology begins to attract Cotovicus at the end of the sixteenth century. Toward the close of the seventeenth century it comes fairly to the front in the works of De la Roque and Maundrell. By the time of Robinson it had become distinctly specialized in splendidly illustrated monographs on Petra and Baalbec. The natural history of the country is brought into prominence by Du Mans in the middle of the sixteenth century. He is closely followed by Rauwolf, the pioneer scientific botanist of the Holy Land. At the beginning of the eighteenth century

Shaw gives an admirable and popular account of its various physical aspects. A few years later we find Hasselquist, the pupil of Linnæus, making collections in Natural History. In Geology we have the judicious observations of Rüssegger, a contemporary of Robinson himself.

We have seen that in geography, and especially in the art of Scriptural Identification, the progress in Western Palestine was not commensurate with that along other lines. Notwithstanding Pococke's attempt to break with the false Crusading traditions, these continued, in most cases, to hold sway, even over subsequent travellers. In Eastern Palestine, too, exploration cannot properly be said to have progressed: before the researches of the indefatigable Seetzen it can hardly be said even to have begun. Hence Seetzen and Burckhardt, with the companions Irby and Mangles, all veritable pioneers, stand out as brilliant exceptions in the matter of geographical advance, so slight in the case of other travellers before Robinson. We have noted that in the early part of the nineteenth century emphasis began to be laid upon another feature, the importance of which is ignored or practically denied by many scientific explorers. Châteaubriand and Lamartine will long be remembered for their word-paintings of the Holy Land, rich in local coloring.

Robinson, then, found the main highways of Western Palestine well trodden, but the by-paths little known.[1] False identifications of Sacred sites,

[1] One concrete example will suffice to illustrate the indefinite nature of knowledge regarding Palestine before the time of Robinson.

stereotyped centuries before, still persisted in ignoring the correct nomenclature abundantly preserved among the peasants of the land. To explore the obscure as well as to re-examine the known sites, to determine the correct Biblical topography, uninfluenced by ecclesiastical tradition, such was the task to which he set himself.

"The time had come," to quote Dr. Roswell D. Hitchcock, for eight years Dr. Robinson's colleague in the Union Theological Seminary, "the time had come for a scholar equal to Reland (whose work was not based on personal investigation of the Holy Land) in acuteness and breadth of judgment, to enter this tempting field with thermometer, telescope, compass, and measuring-tape, but, above all, sharp-eyed and sufficiently sceptical, and then make report of what he had seen and measured. Such a man was our late associate, raised up, endowed, and trained for this very purpose; so keen of vision that nothing escaped his notice; so sound and solid of judgment that no mere fancy could sway him; so learned that nothing of any moment pertaining to his work was unknown to him; and yet, withal, so ardent in his

Not till a year before his visit was one of the most salient features of the land suspected—namely, the deep depression of the Jordan Valley and of the Dead Sea below the level of the Mediterranean. No one seems to have thought it necessary to explain the extraordinary variations from the rest of Palestine in its flora and fauna. In 1837 More and Beke noticed the depression by means of the boiling point of water, estimating it to be about 500 feet. Rüssegger and Bertou in 1838 made the depression to amount to more than 1,300 Paris feet. Before Robinson's second visit the true depression—about 1,300 English feet—was scientifically ascertained by Lieut. Lynch.

religious affections as to pursue his task like a new crusader. There never was a man better suited to his calling."

For a justification of this unqualified praise of Robinson's critical faculty, as well as of his attainments, we shall presently consider his Biblical Researches; for a justification of the statement that he was "raised up, endowed, and trained for this very purpose," we may first turn to the story of his life as told by Dr. Hitchcock.[1]

Edward Robinson was born of a sturdy New England stock, on April 10, 1794, at Southington, Conn. His father, like most of the Congregationalist ministers of his time, supplemented his slender stipend by business. Edward found, thus, in his farm-home, the intellectual and the practical closely linked. Without detriment to preaching and pastoral duties, his father looked after herds of oxen, hives of bees, saw-mill, and grist-mill. The lad was not strong enough to help his father in the more laborious work of the farm, but he became an expert weaver, and invented many contrivances for facilitating manual labor. At the age of sixteen he was placed by his father, who had no idea of sending him to college, as apprentice in a store, with especial charge of the drug department. Previously to this time he had passed through the common schools, had received private instruction from a neighboring

[1] The Life, Writings, and Character of Edward Robinson, D.D., LL.D., read before the New York Historical Society by Henry B. Smith, D.D., and Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1863.

clergyman, and had actually taught school himself. A passion for learning, thus fostered, caused him to rebel against a commercial career, and after two years in the store he got his father's permission to enter the first Freshman class at Hamilton College.

In this new institution, situated at Clinton, N. Y., "on the verge of the wilderness and almost within sight of the wigwams of the Oneidas," Robinson had a foretaste of the great Eastern solitudes through which he was destined to pass in later years. Toward these solitudes his thoughts were turned very early and turned continuously. The love of Palestine had fired the dreams of his boyhood; and, to quote from a sentence in the Introductory Section to his Researches "the journey had been the object of my ardent wishes and had entered into my plans of life for more than fifteen years." But his specializing interest in Biblical Studies did not show itself at once. After graduation, he first entered a law office, and later became tutor at Hamilton in Greek and Mathematics. His marriage, in 1818, with Miss Eliza Kirkland, who had inherited a large farm from her father, again brought into his life the daily union of business and study, the best possible preparation for an explorer, the range of whose notes must often bear a close relation to the management of the commissariat. For four years Mr. Robinson divided his time between editing a part of the Iliad and superintendence of the farm. This was left to him by his wife, who died within a year of their marriage.

In 1821 he moved to Andover, Mass., for the purpose of publishing his book. Here, under the

influence of Professor Moses Stuart, the Hebraist, his studies took a new turn, pointing more directly to the work by which he is most widely known. Within two years he was appointed Instructor of Hebrew in the Theological Seminary. At about this time he was licensed to preach, but he was not regularly ordained till he went to New York as professor at Union. Resigning his tutorship after three years, occupancy, he sailed for Europe, where his studies brought him into close personal contact with such men as Gesenius, Tholuck, and Neander. At Halle he married Therese Albertine Luise, daughter of a professor in the University, and herself a writer of distinction. Shortly after his return from Europe he was appointed Professor Extraordinary of Sacred Literature at Andover, without salary. While occupying the chair—which he was obliged to resign in 1833 on account of ill-health—he founded the Biblical Repository, which, under his editorship, to quote Dr. Hitchcock, "had almost oracular authority on both sides of the Atlantic." Relieved of his professorial duties, he passed in Boston four years of uninterrupted study, the chief results of which were his equally famous translation of Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon and his own Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament. A call to the professorship of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary was accepted under one condition: he desired before entering on his duties to carry out his intention of exploring the Holy Land. The trustees of the Seminary, thus early in its career, established that tradition of encouragement to critical research still char-

acteristic of the institution, by acceding to his request. Fifteen years later, of their own initiative, they voted him a second leave of absence for a second exploration of Palestine, which they well knew he desired to make as a supplement to his earlier researches. In the autumn of 1852 Dr. Robinson was again in his professor's chair, which he continued to occupy, with an interruption due to an operation for cataract, till very near his death, which occurred on January 27, 1863, in his sixty-ninth year.

As we now desire to follow our Explorer along the highways and byways of the Holy Land, we may be able to visualize him better if we look at his portrait painted in words by Dr. H. B. Smith, and to understand the working of his mind better if we cull a few observations from the analysis of his intellectual qualities by Dr. Hitchcock. "In person," writes Dr. Smith, "he was built upon a large and even massive scale; with broad shoulders, muscular limbs, that denoted capacity for great endurance and toil; crowned with a head of unusual volume, a broad and open forehead, with perceptive powers predominant; a shaggy brow, a full, bright, piercing eye, though usually shaded through infirmity; a firm, yet pliant, mouth; and altogether giving the impression, even to a casual observer, of a man of insight and mark." [1] "His intellect," says Dr. Hitchcock, "was one of great native solidity and vigor. For metaphysical subtleties he had no relish whatever. . . . What he saw, he was determined to see clearly. What he could not see clearly, he did not desire to look at at

[1] Life, Writings, and Character of Edward Robinson, DD., p. 13.

all. . . . Till he was quite sure of a thing, he would not affirm it; and it required more to assure him than it does most men. . . . It might almost be said that what he failed to notice was not worth noticing. . . . He might seem to be lethargic and unimpressible; but in reality nothing which transpired in his presence escaped his notice. When he appeared to be seeing and hearing nothing, he was seeing and hearing all."[1] Could words more fitly convey the description of the ideal explorer?

On April 12, 1838, Dr. Robinson entered the borders of Palestine at Beersheba, with his companion, Dr. Eli Smith, for many years a missionary in Syria. Exactly one month before, the travellers had set out from Cairo for their land journey to Sinai. Proceeding from the Holy Mount to Akabah, they had entered what Robinson calls a "terra incognita" to geographers, the few travellers who had crossed it in various directions having left no adequate report. The day before striking Palestine proper, our explorer had recovered the site of the ancient Elusa, lost for more than eleven centuries. This unexpected recovery was prophetic of what lay in store beyond the border-line. Robinson was destined to reconstruct the map of Palestine; again to quote Dr. Hitchcock: "He found it afloat like an island in the sea, almost like a cloud in the sky of fable, and left it a part of Asia." But how little he realized his destiny may be told in his own words: "I entered upon my journey without the slightest anticipation of the results to which we were provi-

[1] Life, Writings, and Character of Edward Robinson, D.D., pp. 84–94.

dentially led. My first motives had been simply the gratification of personal feelings. . . . I had long meditated the preparation of a work on Biblical geography, and wished to satisfy myself by personal observation as to points on which I could find no information in the books of travellers. This, indeed, grew to be the main object of our journey, the nucleus around which all our inquiries and observations clustered. But I never thought of adding anything to the former stock of knowledge on these subjects; I never dreamed of anything like discoveries in this field. Palestine had for centuries been visited by many travellers; and I knew that Schubert had just preceded us to explore the country in its physical aspects, its botany and geology; and we could hope to add nothing to what he and others had observed."[1]

These modest anticipations led to a modest scientific equipment. For instruments the travellers had only the ordinary surveyor's and two pocket-compasses, a thermometer, telescope, and measuring-tapes. For books they had their Bibles, both in English and in the original tongues; the works on Palestine of Reland and Raumer, the travels of Burckhardt and Laborde, and a compilation called the "Modern Traveller." On their second journey these were supplemented by Ritter's great work, partly still in proof-sheets. For maps they took that of Berghaus, the best up to date, but proving

[1] Researches, vol. i, p. 32. All references are to the 1856 edition of his Biblical Researches in three volumes, which include the later researches.

of little service in the parts of the country visited, and Laborde's map of Sinai and Arabia Petræa. Even more simple were their camp accoutrements. The average daily expenditure for the whole party during the second trip was under $5. Dr. Robinson, Dr. Smith, and the cook rode horses; three mules carried the tent, bedding, stores, and another servant. Bedsteads were dispensed with, and sometimes mattresses as well, the travellers sleeping on the ground. Ordinary stores, such as rice and biscuits, were carried in wooden boxes, abandoned later for hair-cloth bags. Weapons during the first trip were taken only for show, and on the second were not taken at all. Reviewing this simple equipment we cannot help instituting comparisons. The ordinary tourist camping in Palestine to-day enjoys many of the luxuries of a modern hotel. Canon Tristram, with his colleagues numbering not more than half a dozen, had a caravan of forty-three beasts when exploring the borders of the Dead Sea in 1864. Tristram, indeed, required extra animals to carry his collections in Natural History, but it may be gathered that he did not travel with the simplicity of Robinson. On the other hand, Tristram himself complains of the extravagance of his predecessor, the Duc de Luynes, whose princely expenditure set a costly precedent for trans-Jordanic travel.

For the economical nature of his journeys, Robinson was greatly indebted to his companion, who was practically a domesticated native of the land. This debt he fully acknowledges. When detailing the plans which had been made for the joint journey as

early as 1832, Robinson says: "I count myself fortunate in having been thus early assured of the company of one who, by his familiar and accurate knowledge of the Arabic language, by his acquaintance with the people of Syria, and by the experience gained in former extensive journeys, was so well qualified to alleviate the difficulties and overcome the obstacles which usually accompany Oriental travel. Indeed, to these qualifications of my companion, combined with his taste for geographical and historical researches, and his tact in eliciting and sifting the information to be obtained from an Arab population, are mainly to be ascribed the more important and interesting results of the journey. For I am well aware that, had I been obliged to travel with an ordinary uneducated interpreter, I should have naturally undertaken much less than we together have actually accomplished, while many points of interest would have been overlooked, and many inquiries would have remained without satisfactory answers."[1]

Robinson, as we have seen, entered Palestine from the south on April 12, 1838. Two months and a half later, on June 26th, he rode into Beyrout, and his first journey was over. In our brief review of his work we shall be obliged to consider his two journeys together. And, in fact, the second links on to the first in a remarkable manner. In preparing his first Biblical Researches and in considering the criticisms made upon these, our traveller recognized not only that certain portions of the Holy Land de-

[1] Researches, i, pp. 1 and 2.

manded from him a fuller examination, but also that certain points on which doubt had been expressed should be investigated anew. "Questions," he says, "not infrequently arose which personal inquiry on the spot might have solved in half an hour, but to which no amount of reading or investigation at a distance would ever afford an answer, inasmuch as they had never been brought before the mind of any traveller."[1] The chief *lacunæ* occurring in the earlier visit were Galilee and the regions east and west of the great northern road leading from Jerusalem to Shechem. Accordingly, Monday, April 5, 1852, found Dr. Robinson with Dr. Smith riding southward from Beyrout on the very road along which they had travelled together northward just about fourteen years before. How firm was the link binding the two journeys together, let us hear in Dr. Robinson's own words. After speaking of pitching their first camp at Neby Yûnis, he says: "Here we were once more in our own tent, not the same, indeed, as formerly, yet so like it as hardly to be distinguished; the furniture and all our travelling equipments were similar; several articles were the very same; and our places in the tent were as of old. It was as if we were continuing a journey of yesterday, and the intervening *fourteen* years seemed to vanish away. And when we reverted to the reality we could not but gratefully acknowledge the mercy of God in preserving our lives and permitting us once more after so long an interval to prosecute *together* the researches which we had together begun.

[1] III, p. 1.

We could not but regard it as a high and certainly an *unusual* privilege thus, after fourteen long years, again to take up the thread of our investigations at the very point where they had been broken off."[1] Dr. Smith, who had been our explorer's companion during the entire first journey, accompanied him on the second as far as Jerusalem and thence northward to the foot of Hermon. But with the departure of Dr. Smith for Sidon, Robinson's good fortune in having a missionary guide did not leave him. Dr. Thomson, described by Renan as "the man who has traversed Syria the most extensively,"[2] accompanied him to Banias and back to Hasbêya, and thence to within a day's journey of Damascus. Here he was joined by Dr. Robson of the Damascus Mission, who travelled with him to Baalbec, then around the northern end of Lebanon to the Cedars, and so to Beyrout, which was reached on June 19th.

Collating the two journeys, we find that Dr. Robinson was travelling in Syria and Palestine only five months. The maximum period of his investigations, including his tour from Cairo to Beersheba and delays in Beyrout, before and after his travels, covered, in all, about seven months.[3] But from his brief opportunities what a wealth of knowledge did he gather! How great an extent of ground did he cover! Tracing in ink his routes on the map of

[1] III, pp. 34–35.

[2] Mission de Phénicie, p. 883.

[3] Note that the shorter period includes his two stays in Jerusalem, and that he profited by a delay in Beyrout to make excursions in the Lebanon.

Judea we make a close net-work of crossing lines.[1] Less close are the lines in Samaria, Galilee, the Lebanon, and Syria proper, yet even here the ramification is remarkable. But the map shows blank stretches. Between Gaza and Tyre, a distance of over 140 miles, the sea-coast is blackened only by a dot at Acre. Thus, the Philistine towns of Ascalon and Ashdod were unvisited, Cæsarea and Carmel were unexplored, the ladder of Tyre was not crossed. Eastern Palestine, again, was practically untouched. The Jordan was crossed only when our explorer made his brief raid which resulted in the recovery of the ancient Pella and farther north where he examined its main sources. Local disturbances prevented his penetrating the Haurân, and impending illness forced him to give up a proposed trip to Hums and Antioch in Northern Syria. Thankful as we are for what he has given us, we cannot help regretting that circumstances prevented this wonderful man from reporting on every nook and cranny of the Holy Land he loved.

Following his journeys, we are struck with the leisurely rapidity with which they were made. He never wasted any time; he never was in a hurry. It may be added that he seldom got excited. Canon Tristram, who certainly does not himself lack the art of expressing enthusiasm, notes that the wild scenery about the Natural Bridge, over the Litany, is called

[1] Our author tells us (i, p. 434) that they avoided passing for any distance over the same ground twice in their many excursions from Jerusalem, except the short interval between Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

"magnificent even by the impassive Dr. Robinson." And yet it must not be hastily assumed that he was not moved by very deep feeling. His search for the long-lost Eleutheropolis, the ancient Beto Gabra, appeared to be rewarded by a visit to Beit Jibrîn, whose remains were found to accord well with the historical notices of the Greek city. One piece of evidence, however, remained to be tested. The Onomasticon states that a village called Yedhna lay six miles from Eleutheropolis. Robinson, hearing that a village by the name of Idhna was in the hills to the east, mounted, at 6 A.M., in quest of the missing clew. "I know not when I have felt more the excitement of suspense," he writes, "than while travelling this short distance. A question of some historical importance was depending on the circumstance whether we reached Idhna at eight o'clock. If so, our researches for the long-lost Eleutheropolis would be crowned with success; if not, we were again afloat and certain of no thing. . . . At 7.50 we came to the head of the valley. . . . It now wanted ten minutes to eight o'clock, and as yet nothing was to be seen of Idhna. But as we reached the top of the ascent, the village lay before us, somewhat lower down on the other side, and precisely at eight o'clock we entered the place and dismounted at the house of the Sheikh. We thus proved Idhna to be just two hours, or six Roman miles, from Beit Jibrîn, which is the specified distance of Yedhna from Eleutheropolis." [1] Not a picturesque adjective here, but is not the

[1] II, pp. 56, 57.

little narrative tense with the excitement of the rider?

Before reviewing the contents of the Biblical Researches, which embody the results of Robinson's travels, it may be well to note the form which these took. This was a matter of some weighty consideration to the author himself. The material existed in the journals of Drs. Robinson and Smith, compiled every evening from notes taken during the day. Through a friend of Dr. Robson, companion to Dr. Robinson in his northern tour, I have learned that no amount of fatigue prevented the explorer from writing up his journal in his tent, sometimes as late as eleven at night. The value to an explorer of such systematic habits cannot be over-emphasized. The yielding to a headache by one traveller at some inaccessible spot may lay the necessity of a long journey upon another. Robinson himself points out, with kindly humor, that some discrepancies between Burckhardt's recorded observations and his own were probably to be explained by the latter's confession that he had not taken notes for two days. Smith's journals were never seen by Robinson till the first journey was over, and the recognition of the almost entire coincidence of the two records brought both surprise and satisfaction. How best to present to the world these joint observations was another question. Yielding to the advice of his friends, Robinson abandoned his original plan of embodying in his memoir only the results of his exploration, without reference to personal incidents. Hasty judgment might convict him of turning away from the more

scientific treatment. But I think that his careful students come to feel that he rightly gave weight to the consideration that the narrative form would best help the reader to follow "the manner in which the promised land unfolded itself to our eyes and the process by which we were led to the conclusions and opinions advanced in this work."[1] Thus admirably did he foreshadow the historic method which to-day —to give one example—places the History of Doctrine above Dogmatics.

We are bound to admit, however, that Robinson yielded to some of the temptations to which the editor of his own journals is subjected. As a rule, the personal incidents are instructive, often illustrating folk-lore, as when he details his entertainment by the governor of Akabah,[2] or describes the children of his Arab cameleer,[3] but such passages as that taken up with the midnight barking of a dog causing alarmed anticipation, which came to nothing, are of no relevance.[4] Generally speaking, however, Robinson's style is condensed and full of meat. Apart from the rich historical discussions, a most important feature in dealing with a given site is a rapid review showing how far and in what period it had hitherto been known to visitors. "He used freely," says Dr. Hitchcock, "whatever lay open to be freely used. But he took the learning of others, whether dead or living, not for a Jacob's pillow to sleep on, but for a Jacob's ladder to climb by." By a somewhat laborious process of collating his three

[1] Preface, p. vii.
[2] I, p. 164.
[3] I, p. 149.
[4] I, p. 183.

volumes, I might, relying upon no other source, have sketched the development of Palestine Exploration, with a general description of the routes taken by the chief travellers, from the Bordeaux Pilgrim to the great author himself!

In contrast to the squabbling for priority which soils the pages of so many explorers, Robinson's determination to give every traveller or geographer his due is at once refreshing and edifying.[1] His achievement, however, in this line is not always commensurate with his spirit. Even this Homer nods. Ziph, he says,[2] is mentioned by no writer since Jerome, yet I find the name in Fetellus, Burchard, and Marino Sanuto, authors often quoted by him. Ekron he declares[3] to have been entirely overlooked by all Frank travellers since the time of the Crusades, yet Sandys[4] mentioned it when in 1611 he travelled from Gaza to Jerusalem, and Shaw (1722)[5] gives it as an illustration of the survival of an old name, placing it correctly on his map. Both Sandys and Shaw are given the star of praise in Robinson's bibliography. But I refrain from giving further examples. Having discovered spots on the sun, their exact number we do not need to count. After all, they are invisible to the naked eye.

[1] Note his quaint remarks on the identification of Khurbet Fahil with Pella, which had struck him in reading the works of Irby and Mangles, and which "was entertained by Kiepert, who likewise used the volume in making out the maps for my work. By which one the suggestion was first made to the other it may now be difficult to determine." (III, p. 323.)

[2] I, p. 492.

[3] II, p. 228.

[4] Sandys's Travailes, p. 118.

[5] Shaw, vol. ii, p. 43.

The manuscript of the "Researches" describing the first journey, prepared in Berlin, was completed in August, 1840. The simultaneous publication in English and German aroused unbounded enthusiasm in scientific quarters, while it provoked hostile criticism on the part of the traditionalists whom Robinson had antagonized with such severity. Friend and foe, however, recognized in it an epoch-making work. It obtained for him the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London. The great geographer Ritter called it "a classic in its own field—a production which has already set the geography of the Holy Land on a more fixed basis than it ever had before, and which will ensure its continued advance." [1] Olshausen's prophecy that "the admirable principles of investigation which are unfolded in Robinson's work will serve as a beacon for all future explorers," was fulfilled by the Officers of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Speaking in Manchester in 1875 of the Fund's Survey, Conder, the worthy successor of Robinson, declared: "The results of his travels formed the groundwork of modern research, and showed how much could be done toward recovering the ancient topography. He proved that the old nomenclature clings to Palestine in an extraordinary manner and that in the memory of the peasant population the true sites have been preserved undiscovered by the Frank invaders. . . . It is in his steps that we have trod. With greater advantages, more time and more money, we have been able to more than double the number of his discoveries, but

[1] See Gage's translation, vol. ii, p. 70.

the cases in which we have found him wrong are few and far between."[1]

While our Union professor covered, in a general way, the wide programme later laid down by the Palestine Exploration Fund, his fixed idea of bending his main energies toward the study of the physical and historical geography of the Holy Land controlled all his investigations. His valuable notes on geology, natural history, and folk-lore bear a small proportion to the bulk of his work. Even in the matter of archæology, where he is much fuller, he does not write as a specialist. We have noted that he travelled eastward from Beit Jibrîn for six miles with the sole purpose of obtaining evidence to complete the argument for identifying that site with Eleutheropolis, but he does not pause at Kefr Kûk to copy a mutilated Greek inscription, or to hunt up two or three others which he hears of. "These remains prove the antiquity of the place," he says, and rides on.[2] Regarding the archæological features of Sidon, he generalizes as follows: "The remains of antiquity in and around Sidon are few,"[3] only barely mentioning the rock-cut sepulchres in the hill to the east, noticed both by Maundrell and Pococke, and doubtless familiar to his companion, Dr. Smith. The true nature of the Tells or Mounds, in which centres the interest of the modern Palestine excavator, was not appreciated by him. At Tell-el-Hesy, where have been excavated parts of eight superim-

[1] Q. S., 1876, pp. 34 ff. We may add that Renan in his Mission de Phénicie (p. 785) refers to the "vast and conscientious work of Robinson."

[2] III, p. 434.

[3] III, p. 36; cf. ii, p. 480.

posed cities illustrating the history of Lachish, he says: "A finer position for a fortress or fortified city could hardly be imagined. Yet we could discover nothing whatever to mark the existence of any former town or structure."[1] He passed the village of Kubeibeh, but does not mention its magnificent mound—Tell Duweir—on whose surface may be picked up jar-handles inscribed with a royal Jewish stamp, which make one long to penetrate to the pre-Israelite depths below. Of Tell-es-Sultân, under which some day will be excavated the walls of Jericho, stormed by the Hebrews, he writes: "[It is] a high double-mound, or group of mounds, looking much like a tumulus, or as if composed of rubbish."[2] "The earliest city . . . would naturally have been near the fountain. . . . But any distinct traces of the former city are now hardly to be looked for."[3] Had Robinson followed archæological literature as systematically as he studied geographical and historical works, he could not have failed to have seen an analogy between the small mounds of Palestine and the extensive ruins of Babylon, described by Rich in 1812 as consisting of "mounds of earth formed by the decomposition of buildings, channelled and furrowed by the weather, and the surface of them strewn with pieces of brick, bitumen, and pottery."[4] What riches of architecture the Mesopo-

[1] II, p. 48. He adds in a foot-note, however, that this is probably the hill described by Volney as artificial.

[2] I, p. 555. [3] I, p. 565.

[4] C. T. Rich's First Memoir of Babylon, written in 1812, was published in German in 1813 and in English in 1816. The second Memoir appeared in 1818.

tamian mounds conceal, he had doubtless read before his second journey in Botta's "Monument de Nineve" (Paris, 1849–50) and Layard's early work, "Nineveh and its Remains" (London, 1848).

Having acknowledged Robinson's limitations in the field of archæology, we hasten to add that he made many important contributions to this science. Though the fragment of an arch, projecting from the west wall of the Haram enclosure at Jerusalem, was noticed by Catherwood in 1833, its identification with the bridge which, according to Josephus, connected the Temple with Mt. Zion, was made by our explorer, and appropriately bears the name of Robinson's Arch to this day. He was the first to call proper attention to the remains of a large city which once had been built at Petra, covering an area not much less than two miles in circumference.[1] His predecessors here had almost entirely confined their observations to the unique rock-dwellings. He, too, was the first traveller to report on the dark windings of the Tunnel leading for over 1,700 feet from the Virgin's Fountain to the Pool of Siloam; and the careful measurements he took agree very closely with those of Sir Charles Warren, thirty years later.[2] Important discoveries were made in Galilee. By comparing several ancient structures, showing a peculiar architecture, with the remains of a building which had been previously recognized as a Jewish synagogue, Robinson proved that all these buildings fell under the same category. He was thus the first

[1] II, p. 136.

[2] I, p. 338; cf. Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 239.

to recognize a synagogue at Tell Hûm, one of the claimants for the site of Capernaum.[1] He also made an especial examination of the temples in the vicinity of Mt. Hermon, between Hermon and Damascus, and in the Anti-Lebanon, in many cases giving elaborate measurements.

We have now come to the chief objects of Robinson's Researches, the physical geography of the Holy Land and the identification of Biblical sites. Here he placed his main stress. His geographical investigations often led him to take new routes in order to fill in *lacunæ* in former descriptions. His search for lost sites led to his exploring many a small place unnoticed before. For the work of identification elaborate preparation was made. Convinced of the worthlessness of ecclesiastical tradition, convinced that in the modern names the ancient nomenclature lay in fossil form, Drs. Robinson and Smith avoided as far as possible all contact with the convents and the authority of the monks, resolving to apply for information solely to the native population. While visiting the chief centres, as Jerusalem or Gaza, they collected lists of the names of the modern villages and of the ruins of the surrounding districts from the inhabitants or from wandering

[1] III, p. 346. Robinson missed the ruins at Kasyûn (a site declared afterward by Renan to be of prime importance for Jewish remains), but on reading later the notes of Porter, he suggests that the ruins there described may be those of a synagogue (iii, p. 363). On the other hand, in the large edifice at Kadesh Naphtali, declared by Robinson to be a synagogue, Renan sees a heathen temple (iii, p. 368); cf. Renan's Mission de Phénicie, pp. 684-5 and 762 ff.

Bedawîn.[1] In searching for a given site they never defeated their object by asking a direct question, to which the amiable Syrian usually gives the answer best calculated to please, but they employed a method of cross-examination worthy of a lawyer. Thus equipped, both by method and preparation, they were able sometimes in one brief visit greatly to enrich the subject of Biblical identification. From the top of the hill of Maîn, east of Hebron, they could distinguish eight villages and ruins bearing the Arabic equivalents of the names of eight towns of Judah. Thus, in one sweep of the eye, our travellers added to the list of recognized Biblical sites the names of Ziph, Anab, Jattir, Maon, Eshtemoa, Juttah, and Shocoh in the Mountains.[2] Some of these had not been mentioned since the time of Jerome; others occur in Seetzen's map, but with no attempt at identification. In Kurmul alone had modern travellers previous to Robinson recognized an ancient site—the Carmel of Judah.[3] In a two days' excursion, north and northeast of Jerusalem, our travellers placed on a firm basis the identification of Anathoth, Geba, Michmash, and Bethel.[4] Among scores of other additions made by Robinson to the modern science of Biblical Identification are

[1] I, p. 256. Robinson acknowledges that this method had been successfully employed by Seetzen and Burckhardt in Eastern Palestine, but states that up to his time no one had followed this example in Western Palestine.

[2] I, p. 494.

[3] All these identifications, except that of Anab, are adopted in Armstrong's Names and Places.

[4] I, pp. 436 ff.

the interesting sites of Shiloh, Beth-Shemesh, Mareshah, and the Vale of Elah.[1] He, too, was the first in our day carefully to work out the identification of Megiddo with Lejjûn and of Jezreel with Zera'în.[2] Nor was this work of his confined to Biblical sites. His eager search for Eleutheropolis indicates how keen was his scent for Greek and Roman places not mentioned in the Scriptures. Even out-of-the-way Crusading remains interested him. Tristram, visiting the almost inaccessible Kula'at Kurein, southeast of Tyre, in 1863, draws a plan of the castle and says: "It is strange that history affords not the slightest clew to the origin and builders of the fortress."[3] Thomson, to whose description he refers, gives the good Canon no help. And yet our Robinson, passing in the vicinity of the Castle eleven years before, casually but correctly remarks that it is the Montfort of the Crusaders.[4]

The judicious temper of mind controlling his observations is well illustrated by his comparison of the impressions gathered by viewing the district around the Waters of Merom from the high mountains to the west, with those resulting from examination at shorter range: "The whole plain of the Huleh was

[1] In the indexes of Ancient Geographical Names (at the end of vols. ii and iii, respectively) Robinson marks by an asterisk: "Ancient places now first visited or identified." Collating the two indexes, we find over 160 thus marked. These, however, include some places not mentioned in Sacred history.

[2] Lejjûn is the Roman Legio; the ancient site of Megiddo was doubtless at the neighboring Tell-el-Mutasellim, where Dr. Robinson, with his usual non-comprehension of mounds, found no traces of a city. But he was on the right track.

[3] The Land of Israel, p. 80.

[4] III, p. 66.

before us. . . . We thought we could here trace clearly the various streams flowing through the plain and distinguish accurately their points of juncture. These I carefully noted, but the subsequent result taught me a lesson in respect to judgments formed under such circumstances; I mean when looking down from a lofty point of view upon an extensive tract of country below. A few days afterward when I came to traverse the Huleh, and follow the streams to their junction, most of my notes proved to be entirely wrong."[1] Such a reporter himself furnishes the criterion by which his observations may be judged.

As a final illustration of his candor, of his rejecting the explorer's temptation to make an identification at any price, we may cite his discovery of the ruins of er-Ruheibeh, covering a level tract of eight or ten acres, a day's ride southwest of Beersheba. "These ruins," he says, "have apparently been seen by no former traveller and it was only by accident that we stumbled upon them. The place must anciently have been of some note and importance; but what city could it have been? This is a question which, after long inquiry, and with the best aid from the light of European science, I am as yet unable to answer."[2] A less conscientious explorer would have made the identification with Rehoboth, one of Isaac's wells in the vicinity of Beersheba, but the apparent absence of a well, together with other reasons, led him to reject this. It was left to a later traveller to discover wells here, and this

[1] III, p. 370. [2] I, p. 197.

identification finds a tentative place in Armstrong's "Names and Places."

We have noticed the scepticism regarding ecclesiastical tradition controlling Robinson's researches; a scepticism not negative but brilliantly positive; a scepticism not barren but productive of a rich harvest; destruction followed, when possible, by reconstruction. But he had the defect of his quality. His methods of destruction are sometimes open to criticism. Hearty recognition we have already given to his admirable fusion of accurate observation, clear judgment, and downright common-sense; we are bound now to take count of his lapses from a calm and scientific temper.[1] Spots held in peculiar veneration by the Roman Catholic and Eastern clergy seem to have been thereby rendered obnoxious to him, and were visited with obvious reluctance. Thus, the day after his first arrival in Jerusalem, in 1838, he witnessed part of the Easter ceremonies in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, "but," he says, "to be in the ancient City of the Most High and to see these venerated places and the very name of our Holy Religion profaned by lying and idle mummeries, while the proud Mussulmen looked on with haughty scorn—all this excited in my mind a feeling too painful to be borne, and I never visited the place again."[2] Here speaks the Puritan, not

[1] Note the too sweeping character of his famous dictum: "That all ecclesiastical tradition respecting ancient places in and around Jerusalem and throughout Palestine IS OF NO VALUE, except so far as it is supported by circumstances known from the Scriptures, or from other contemporary testimony." (Vol. iii, p. 263.)

[2] I, p. 224.

the Explorer. Robinson's personal attitude toward ritual was his own affair, but to have let this stand in the way of his thorough examination of one of the most interesting buildings in the world was not worthy of one who crawled on hands and knees through the windings of the Siloam Tunnel. In 1838 he did not know that he was to revisit Palestine, hence this brief glimpse of the Holy Sepulchre was intended to be final. In 1852 he did so far overcome his prejudices as to enter the Church, "mainly," he acknowledges, "in order to look at the Tomb of Joseph and Nicodemus, so called."[1] Judging Robinson by the great mass of his work, we would expect him to be fair in every historical discussion. But judging Robinson by his biassed attitude in visiting the Holy Sepulchre, we should be prepared to find that his usual impartiality is somewhat relaxed; that his usual clear judgment is somewhat obscured in dealing with its alleged discovery as recounted by Eusebius. On strict examination his exegesis is not found to be fully warranted. His conclusions, though partially legitimate, appear to me to be somewhat too sweeping and their explanation somewhat *ex parte*. In view of the authority that may be justly attached to Robinson's conclusions in the vast majority of cases, we should dwell for a moment on the exceptional case, especially as it involves his *cause célèbre*, which made his book the subject of fierce controversy. Here he is both lawyer and jury. My complaint is not against the verdict of the jury, but against the special pleading of the lawyer.

[1] III, p. 180.

Any discussion of Eusebius's account is complicated by the apparently contradictory elements which it contains. Certain passages appear on first reading to favor the view that the alleged discovery of the Holy Sepulchre by Constantine's agents was based on previous information; others appear to involve the idea that it was held to be the result of miraculous intimation or intervention. Now we may assume that under Eusebius's rhetoric there was a meaning perfectly clear to himself. Holding no brief for or against the traditional site, I believe that a harmony may be found in the passages, without doing violence to any of these.[1] Briefly but essentially his account is as follows: At some time previous to Constantine, the place of the Saviour's resurrection in Jerusalem had been purposely consigned to darkness and oblivion by ungodly men, who, after covering it up with earth, had erected on the site a shrine to Aphrodite. The Emperor, being inspired by the Divine Spirit, "could not bear to see the place concealed by the artifices of adversaries," but, calling upon God to help him, gave orders that the place should be purified. The shrine was destroyed, the mound was removed layer by layer, until at last, "contrary to all hope," the sepulchral cave was brought to light.

[1] I do not propose here to discuss the site of the Holy Sepulchre, nor the various accounts of its alleged discovery, nor even Robinson's topographical arguments against the traditional site. The scope of this sketch does not include such matters. My aim is merely to illustrate a certain bias in Robinson by showing how he deals with Eusebius's narrative. The whole subject of "Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre" has been critically treated by Sir Charles Wilson in a series of papers in the Q S. of the P. E. F. (Jan., 1902–Jan., 1904, inclusive), soon to be published in book form.

Thereupon the Emperor commanded the erection of a house of prayer on the site, "not having hit upon the project without the aid of God, but having been impelled to it by the Spirit of the Saviour himself." "This project he had had for some time in mind and had foreseen as if by superior intelligence what was going to happen." To Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, he wrote as follows: "No power of language appears worthy to describe the present wonder. For that the token of that most holy Passion, long ago buried underground, should have remained unknown for so many cycles of years until it should shine forth to his servants, . . . truly transcends all marvel." [1]

Now, Robinson seems to have overlooked the fact that this account appears distinctly to assume that before Constantine gave orders for the destruction of the shrine of Venus, he believed that the Holy Sepulchre lay concealed somewhere beneath it.[2] On the other hand, he makes wrong application of the passages indicating that Constantine was moved by Divine Intimation. "What, then," he says, "after

[1] Our Summary is condensed from Dr. Bernard's translation of Chaps. 26–30 of Eusebius's Life of Constantine, P. P. T., vol. i. We cannot here enter into a discussion of the ambiguous passage quoted from the letter to Macarius, which may or may not refer to the Invention of the Cross, otherwise unnoticed by Eusebius. Robinson says (iii, 257, note 2), "It makes no difference to the argument which way it is understood," holding that the language is too strong to apply merely to the removal of obstructions from a well-known spot. To us the passage would appear to be natural if referring to the discovery of the Cross, highly rhetorical if applied to the recovery of the cave; but highly rhetorical is just what Eusebius is throughout the whole discussion.

[2] But see note 1 on page 218.

all, is the amount of testimony relative to an idol erected over the place of the resurrection and serving to mark the spot? It is simply that writers (*i.e.*, Eusebius and later historians) *ex post facto* have mentioned such an idol as standing, not over the Sepulchre known of old as being that of Christ, *but over the spot fixed upon by Constantine as that Sepulchre.*" "Their testimony proves conclusively that an idol stood upon that spot, but it has no bearing to show that the spot was the true sepulchre."[1] "Indeed, the whole tenor of the language both of Eusebius and Constantine goes to show that the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre was held to be the result not of a previous knowledge derived from tradition, but of a supernatural interposition and revelation."[2] "The alleged discovery of them (Calvary and the Tomb) by the aged and credulous Helena, like her discovery of the cross, may not have been improbably the work of pious fraud. It would, perhaps, not be doing injustice to the Bishop Macarius and his clergy if we regard the whole as a well-laid and successful plan for restoring to Jerusalem its former consideration, and elevating the See to a higher degree of influence and dignity."[3]

Here, for a moment, we must part company with Robinson. Eusebius, indeed, in ascribing motives to the builders of the shrine of Aphrodite, appears to be employing *ex post facto* reasoning. His narrative has no scientific bearing to show that the spot enshrined the true Sepulchre of Christ. It does not prove that Constantine was acting on correct infor-

[1] I, p. 413; cf. iii, pp. 257 ff. The italics are Robinson's.
[2] I, p. 414. [3] I, p. 418.

mation. But it does imply that Eusebius believed that the Emperor was acting upon some sort of information.[1] The phrases showing that Constantine was moved by Divine Intimation, held by Robinson to indicate that the discovery was regarded as the result of a supernatural interposition and revelation, apply strictly only to the work of purification and construction. Later writers, indeed, represent the search as having been guided by such influences, but had there been no question of tradition or no tradition, these phrases of Eusebius would not necessarily have been held to mean other than that Constantine was moved to a good work by Divine Providence. Dr. Robinson might have said the same of his own researches!

Eusebius's affirmation that the discovery was held to have been "beyond all hope," Robinson would find inappropriate if applied to a spot "definitely known and marked by long tradition." Well, so it would be. But our exegesis of Eusebius's narrative necessarily involves no more than the existence of some sort of a tradition. That it was not generally known, at least not generally credited, is suggested by the statement ascribing Constantine's foresight as to what was going to happen to "superior intelligence." That it was not even known to Eusebius ten years previous to the alleged recovery is suggested by his silence regarding it when, in 315, he mentioned another tradition placing the site of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, whither pilgrims

[1] Possibly Robinson might have conceded this point, holding, however, that said information was fabricated by the clergy.

flocked to worship from all parts of the earth.[1] Eusebius does not refer to Helena's agency in the matter, but later writers represent her excavations as being the result of "diligent inquiry." As an excavator I can enter into the feelings of those who, having staked their hopes upon a given site, hopes based either upon diligent inquiry or upon some dubious historical indication, labor day after day in removing layer after layer of *débris* without striking the desired object, and then, when at last this appears to be found, exclaim: "This certainly was beyond all hope!"

Some sort of tradition, then, I think may be legitimately inferred from Eusebius's account. The value of such a tradition, however, is quite another matter. Against its authority, supposing it to have existed, Dr. Robinson argues clearly and, it seems to me, decisively from analogy with a tradition of "precisely the same character and import," which is known to have been believed ten years before the journey of Helena, namely, the tradition respecting the place of the Ascension, to which we have just referred. This actual tradition, says Robinson, though its claims to credibility can be supported by all the arguments used in favor of the supposed tradition respecting the Holy Sepulchre, is itself unquestionably false, since it is contradicted by the express declaration of Luke, who states that Jesus led out His disciples as far as Bethany, and while He blessed them He was parted from them and carried up into Heaven.[2]

Have we not, after all, come back very close to

[1] Eusebius, Demonstr. Evang., 7, 4. [2] I, p. 416.

Robinson? Is there much difference between an obscure and discredited tradition, such as we postulate, and his view of no tradition? Little difference as affecting the genuineness of the site, but great difference as affecting the reputation of the good Bishop Macarius. The phrase "pious fraud" separates us still.[1] Take it back, Dr. Robinson! The finely written manuscript of your Researches, brought out from the Archives of the Union Theological Seminary, lies open before me, at the very page containing your accusation. I seem to hear your voice speaking to me, as it spoke to students of this school years and years ago. Bid me tell your students, born since you were translated, that the accusation is withdrawn, and that you have made your peace with Macarius.

We cannot leave the journeyings of our Union professor without instancing his powers of endurance, his admirable pluck, and his just as admirable prudence. On the day when he first entered Jerusalem at 6 P.M., he had left Dhoheriyeh at quarter past two in the morning, he had taken a ramble through the streets of Hebron, and he had been on a camel for nearly sixteen hours. And yet at nine

[1] There remains, of course, the matter of the "Invention of the Cross." But whether Macarius had any cognizance of this is not proven, as the first explicit reference to it is by Bishop Cyril, who at the time of Helena's journey was only eleven years old. Even granting that this closely followed on to the discovery of the alleged Holy Sepulchre, we must also grant that from the sudden realization of expectations which had been described as "beyond all hope" a credulous age might easily have evolved a belief which would differ essentially because morally from the "well-laid and successful plan" of a "pious fraud."

o'clock the next day he was in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, witnessing the Easter ceremonies. No wonder that after the tense strain of three and a half months he was taken, at the close of the first journey, with an illness that almost cost him his life at Vienna. No wonder that an impending illness cut short his exploration of Northern Syria in 1852. The intense strain was not only one of fatigue, but of excitement, if not of actual danger. From the matter-of-fact narrative of Dr. Robinson we can reconstruct for ourselves a series of pictures of his Petra adventures. We can see him quietly strolling about, taking notes on the monuments, while Dr. Smith is dealing with the demands of the local Sheikh for tribute money, accentuated by the firing of guns and the drawing of swords. We can see the travellers riding off, not a para the poorer, though they know that now the ascent of Mt. Hor must be given up. We can see the aged Sheikh following them, declaring that their good-will is better than money, and begging them to make the ascent on any terms they please. And finally we can see them continuing tranquilly on their journey back to Jerusalem, having lost the view from Mt. Hor, but having decided, once out of the old man's clutches, not to place themselves in his power again.

Robinson, as has been frequently intimated, regarded his researches in Palestine merely as preparatory to a systematic work on the Physical and Historical Geography of the Holy Land. This he actually began after his first journey, following a scheme abandoned later, when his second journey had

furnished him with new data. His new plan was to cover the ground in two volumes: Vol. I., The Central Region—Palestine with Lebanon and Sinai. Vol. II., Outlying Countries. Vol. I. certainly and Vol. II. probably were to have been divided into three parts—Physical Geography, Historical Geography and Topographical Geography. Realizing the vast scope of this scheme, he felt that others might have to carry it out to completion, but volume first he hoped to finish. "But," writes his wife in the preface to the posthumous publication, "it was otherwise decreed above; and a comparatively small portion—thorough and complete in itself, however, without a missing note, without the omission of a single word to be subsequently inserted—is all that is left to the world from the hand of the earnest, faithful investigator."[1] The portion written and published was only the first division—Physical Geography—of Vol. I., and this only so far as it applied to Palestine proper. Even this part was not completed, as chapters relating to the Flora and Fauna are missing. As an appendix there is inserted an Essay called "The Physical Geography of Syria Proper," which formed the commencement of his work on Biblical Geography according to the original plan.

Referring to this uncompleted work in his speech before the New York Historical Society, February 3, 1863, Dr. Hitchcock said: "There lives no man to finish it; and when one shall be born to do it, God

[1] Physical Geography of the Holy Land. By Edward Robinson. Boston, 1865.

only knows.'' God, who made Man in His own Image, never makes any man in the exact image of his fellow. Robinson's book has never been completed on the lines which he laid down, but, while Dr. Hitchcock was speaking, a Scotch lad, barely seven years old, was beginning the studies which in later days led him into the great region opened up by the American Pioneer. George Adam Smith's ''Historical Geography of the Holy Land'' has not the mass of systematized detail that would have characterized the vast work planned by Robinson, but the power to illustrate the interaction of forces, physical and historical, a subject requiring not only knowledge based on personal investigation and wide reading, but a handling at once vigorous, subtle, and sympathetic, is all his own. On him willingly would Robinson have cast his mantle.

LECTURE VI

RENAN AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

THE attempt to cover in a single lecture the interval between 1838 and 1865—the interval between the earlier journey of Robinson, the first scientific explorer of Palestine, and the establishment of the Palestine Exploration Fund, the first scientific society devoted to the study of the Holy Land—presents many difficulties. In a postscript to a later edition of his "Sinai and Palestine," referring to a second journey taken in 1862, nine years after his first visit, Dean Stanley says: "In these same nine years the geography of Palestine has been almost rewritten. Not only have new discoveries been made in almost every part (with which I have hardly been able to keep pace in the correction of my successive editions), but the historical and topographical details of the subject have been worked up in a far more complete form than any to which I can lay claim." An explanation of the Dean's somewhat sweeping statement as to the progress effected during those nine years illustrates our difficulty in dealing with the longer period under review. Robinson's methods of investigation were followed by scores of other travellers in considering one point or

another,[1] but followed, as a rule, unsystematically as applied to the country at large. At the beginning of the period stands Tobler, at the end Guérin, both general investigators on the grand scale and of the first class. Between these names the claim to distinction is earned by specialists in the various fields of science, not by general investigators. These indeed are not wanting. In "The Land and the Book," Dr. Thomson, resident missionary in the land for a great part of his active life, transcribed the observations made during constant tours,[2] but his work was designed, so frankly states the author, "for general and popular reading, rather than for the professional student." Biblical illustration was its declared purpose, and hence almost one-half of its pages, in the early edition, is devoted to folk-lore. De Saulcy's name is more connected with his excavations at the so-called Tombs of the Kings than with the discriminating notes jotted down during his rapid journeys. Van de Velde indeed criss-crossed over the country pretty thoroughly when making what was one of the best route-surveys extant before the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. But his often shrewd observations are almost buried in his report of personal adventures, conversations with his guide, and pious ejaculation, sometimes taking the form of apostrophe of biblical characters! Porter shows a similar

[1] The ratio of increase of books on Palestine after the third decade of the last century may be gathered from Röhricht's Bibliography, which claims to be inclusive from A.D. 333 to 1878. In his list, comprising 3,515 names, Robinson's number is 1,886.

[2] Renan credits Thomson with being the most extensive traveller in Palestine.

lack of scientific method. In the valuable work of Dr. Sepp, too, we find fact and fancy blending in a popular style, grievous to those who prefer their science undiluted. Taken together, the works of these writers—and indeed of many others—form a mine of topographical and other information, but to extract the ore often requires the patience of a miner.

With no dogmatic assertion that it is the best, the plan we shall adopt in following the development of Palestine Exploration, from Robinson to the establishment of the Palestine Exploration Fund, is, after acknowledging the claims of Tobler and Guérin, to pass over the names of lesser travellers and to proceed to a review of the specialists eminently characteristic of the period, including a few representative writers on questions concerning Jerusalem in that long line of special pleaders in the controversy regarding traditional sites started by the heterodoxy of Robinson; as well as the specialists in the departments of archæology, architecture, and the natural sciences. Among these especial prominence is given to Renan, the first Syrian excavator on a large scale.

It was as a result of a pleasure trip, taken in Palestine in 1835, that Dr. Titus Tobler was fired with the ambition to become a scientific explorer. On his return to Germany he began to prepare himself for a second visit by mastering all the literature concerning the history of the Holy Land and of its actual exploration up to date. But even while this German scholar was fitting himself to be a pioneer, Robinson appeared on the field and reaped the first harvest for America. Much, however, remained to

be accomplished. During a period of twenty weeks, in 1845–46, Tobler conducted a fuller study of Jerusalem and its environs than was possible in the much shorter time devoted to this region by his predecessor. Unlike the latter, whose Protestant prejudices kept him away from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, he furnished a clear and thorough description of its complicated construction. The topographical features of the city, its walls and gates, its chief buildings, ancient and modern—mosques, synagogues, churches—are treated with detail in the first volume of the chief work resulting from this campaign.[1] In the second volume the same method is applied, first to the immediate surroundings of the Holy City, and next, to that part of Judea extending from Jaffa to the Jordan, from Solomon's Pools to Bethel. About seventy sites are described in alphabetical order. Like Robinson, he supplements an account of present conditions by the history of each place as far as it is known. The value of the work as a book of reference is enhanced by the suppression of the personal element, the free indulgence of which on the part of other writers aroused his scorn. In a third journey, taken in 1857, the same methods were employed in a more extended examination of Judea.[2] Returning again in 1865, Tobler planned the exploration of Nazareth. Cholera prevented his actual visit to the spot, but, nevertheless,

[1] Zwei Bücher Topographie von Jerusalem und seinen Umgebungen. Berlin, 1853. For special monographs resulting from this journey, see Röhricht.

[2] See Dritte Wanderung nach Palästina im Jahre 1857. Gotha, 1859.

by careful inquiry from authoritative sources he was able to produce a detailed monograph on this site. Here is no place for more than reference to his vast literary labor in distinction to the record of his personal work. It is, however, difficult to separate the two forms of activity. To the editorship of the texts dealing with pilgrim-travel, which engaged him till his death in 1877, he brought a knowledge that could have been gained only by an experience of the Holy Land itself.

It is interesting to note that in the scientific exploration of Palestine, America was followed by Germany, Germany by France, and France by England. Guérin forms part of the great quartette completed by the names of Robinson, Tobler, and Conder. The range of his experiences in Palestine, extending, with long interruptions, over a period of twenty-three years, permits us to call him a contemporary of the other three members. The year of his first visit, 1852, was the date of Robinson's second journey. During his last visit, in 1875, Conder was actually engaged on the Survey. His intermediate explorations alternated with those of Tobler, though the two were not in the country together.[1] The work

[1] H. V. Guérin was five times in Palestine. In 1852 he travelled only along the grand routes; in 1854 he occasionally broke away from the traditional paths. His great work, in seven volumes, Description Géographique, Historique, et Archéologique de la Palestine, was the result of three special missions, with which he was charged by the Minister of Public Instruction, conducted in 1863, 1870, and 1875, and dealing respectively with Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. Jerusalem was treated in a separate volume. Guérin's record is in itinerary form, but his personal experiences are suppressed, except in cases where they serve to illustrate the state of the land.

of these four men shows a logical progression. Robinson established the correct principles of research. Tobler applied these more minutely, but over a limited geographical range. Guérin endeavored with the same minuteness to cover the whole field—Judea, Samaria, Galilee—but was subjected to the limitations of an explorer travelling singly and with straitened resources. Conder, heading a Survey expedition adequately manned and splendidly equipped, was enabled to fill in the numerous topographical *lacunæ* left by his predecessors.

To compare Guérin's map with that resulting from such a Survey would be manifestly absurd. But one may fairly judge of the extent of his geographical material and of the character of his archæological observations by comparing his "Description de la Palestine" with the "Memoirs" of the Survey. For example, opening Vol. III. of the latter (Judea) at the pages dealing with the archæology of sites on sheets xxi and xxii of the great map, we note a large number of names of minor ruins not known to Guérin. This is not surprising; but it certainly is surprising to find that at least nine names on the lists are there by virtue of Guérin's notes, and do not occur on the Fund's map, for the simple reason that they were not found by the Survey officers. Again, in at least twenty cases (still in connection with these two sheets) the brief notes of the latter are supplemented by quotations from the fuller descriptions of Guérin. Thus, in regard to Khurbet Mejdel Baa', a ruin some nine miles southwest of Hebron, the Survey notes are limited to the following

catalogue, scarcely differentiating the ruins from scores of others: "Walls, a reservoir, caves, and rough cave-tombs. An ancient road leads to it." According to Guérin, a stone building, constructed of great blocks for the most part rudely squared and roughly embossed, crowns the hill like a fort; round about several houses are still standing; columns lie prostrate; everywhere the sides of the hill are pierced with cisterns and vast caverns, and so on through a description of 125 words, which gives a little individuality to Mejdel Baa' and illustrates the patience of the author in examining uninteresting sites. On the other hand, the next ruin in Guérin's itinerary, Khurbet 'Aziz, described by him in a few lines, is accorded over two pages in the Survey's folio, with general measurements of buildings, masonry details, etc. Thus admirably do the two works complement each other.

But in examining the ruins of Palestine, Guérin, equally with the officers of the Fund, lacked the clew to chronology furnished by the subsequent studies of ancient pottery which were inaugurated by the excavations of Flinders Petrie at Lachish.[1] To the initiated an examination of the sherds strewn over the surface of a mound may indicate the date of its abandonment. In cuttings, made for one purpose or another at its base, may be found other sherds, which throw light on the period of the first occupa-

[1] Conder states that he had seven years' experience of pottery of every age in Palestine and always examined that found at the ruins. His observations, however, are rarely recorded. They appear not to have led him beyond a recognition of the broad distinction between "ancient pottery" and "Roman or Byzantine." See Q. S. 1890, p. 329.

tion of the site. In cases where the lowest stratum is exposed at no point, certain general inferences as to the duration of occupation may often be gathered by estimating the total amount of *débris*. To the explorer before Petrie the amount of *débris* had hardly more meaning than the pottery. Guérin, describing the lofty hill of Tell-el-Hesy, identified by Conder with Lachish, does not discriminate between the natural bluff and the sixty feet of superimposed accumulation, the result of many centuries of alternate construction and destruction. He did not know that the ruins of mud-brick dwellings may counterfeit the appearance of the soil itself. Otherwise he could hardly have made the statement, so subversive of the doctrine of the indestructibility of matter, that important cities have been not only entirely razed, but, as it were, effaced from the soil. Conder's identification of Lachish with Tell-el-Hesy was correct, but it was based on topographic and onomastic arguments. On similar grounds he placed Eglon at Khurbet 'Ajlan—an identification absolutely contradicted by the extent and character of the *débris*. The work of Guérin and Conder in collecting names of ruins and in correctly locating these was of prime value, but this might have been doubled had they possessed the simple key to chronology—the only key available in the case of ruins uncharacterized by known architectural features—which may be found by comparing the surface pottery with the amount of accumulation. Here is no adverse criticism. It is only saying in other words that the development of Palestine Exploration would have been more rapid

had the general Survey been preceded by a particular examination of a few important mounds by excavation. And in the logic of events this was hardly to have been expected.[1]

We may now glance at the extraordinary manifestation of interest in the topography of Jerusalem incited by the publication of Robinson's heterodox views in 1840. Robinson had confined himself to proving to his own satisfaction that the traditional site of Calvary and the Tomb of Christ could not be correct. Inborn conservatism prevented his proposing a rival site. But in 1842 such a site was actually put forward by Otto Thenius,[2] namely, the hill el-Heidhemîyeh to the north of the city, now popularly called Gordon's Calvary, in consequence of his strong adherence to this theory. Shortly after, Dr. George Williams, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, appeared in the field, claiming to be the first modern traveller to put in a plea for ancient Jerusalem traditions against modern objections. His zeal outran his sense of courtesy. In the preface to the second edition of his "Holy City" he tells us that he had expunged the "harsh insinuations and personal reflections on Dr. Robinson," to whom he had already apologized in private.[3] Schultz, for three

[1] For an elaboration of this theme, see Lecture VIII.

[2] In the Zeitschrift für d. Hist. Theol., 1842.

[3] See The Holy City: Historical, Topographical, and Antiquarian Notices of Jerusalem by George Williams, B. D. Second Edition, London, 1849. The Supplement to Vol. I contains an interesting commentary on the plan of the city made in 1840, after the bombardment of Acre, by the Royal Engineers, Alderson and Aldrich, as part of the Ordnance Survey of the country from the Orontes to the Dead Sea.

years German Consul in the Holy City, took a like conservative position.[1] So also did Krafft.[2] But Dr. Williams, carrying the war into his own camp, says that the former's claim to have reached his conclusions independently of Krafft and himself is not justified.

The next heavy gun was fired by Fergusson at long range, for this prince among arm-chair critics had never visited Palestine. The most radical disbelievers in the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre had never doubted that the buildings surrounding it occupied the place of Constantine's constructions. Fergusson maintained, mainly on architectural grounds—though he backed his arguments by interpreting or rather misinterpreting in his favor the topographical notices of the Bordeaux Pilgrim—that the so-called Mosque of Omar was built by the Byzantine Emperor on the site which he believed to cover the Lord's Tomb, and that the site, as a "holy place," was transferred from the Eastern to the Western Hill some seventy years before the entry of the Crusaders. His dealing with the apparent difficulties of this assumed transference is delightfully simple. Standing firm on his "indisputable arguments" that Constantine must have built the Mosque of Omar, he says: "I myself have very little hope of any great success being attained in elucidating the history of this transaction; but, at the same time, it appears of the least possible consequence whether it is obtained or not. If Constantine built the Dome of the Rock, the

[1] Jerusalem; Eine Vorlesung. 1845.

[2] Die Topographie Jerusalems. 1845.

fact of the transference is certain, and the motive is only too clear. It was done because it had become absolutely necessary for the protection of the Christians in Jerusalem in the eleventh century. They were forcibly dispossessed of their own church on the Eastern Hill, and they of necessity erected one on the only available site on the Western Hill, and there, in consequence, we now find it. It may be unfortunate that this should be so, but I can see no reason why the fact should not be acknowledged if it can be proved!"[1] Could special pleading further go?

Fergusson's disappointment that Robinson, the great sceptic in regard to the so-called Holy Sepulchre, did not "hail with enthusiasm the view that an alternative had been found," but rather "was the first to turn upon" its discoverer, led him into reprisals, characteristic of all war, holy or otherwise. After accusing the American explorer of garbling the text of Eusebius in the interests of his own arguments, he adds: "He knew, of course, that he was stating what was not true when he put these words into the mouth of Eusebius, and it seems all the more strange that he should have condescended to do this, as he had not even the excuse of religious zeal to justify his misrepresentations."[2] In such manner raged the battle over the grave of the Prince of Peace.

In 1855 was published a work called "Antient Jerusalem," in which the author, J. F. Thrupp,

[1] The Temples of the Jews, by James Fergusson; p. x, Preface. His peculiar views were first promulgated in An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem, 1847.

[2] Ibid., p. 196.

strongly advocated a revolutionary theory, already advanced by Fergusson. He maintained that the earlier or true Zion which the Bible identifies with the City of David "was none other than the Temple Hill, now occupied by the Haram-esh-Sherîf; that the old Jebusite stronghold or Castle stood on the northern part of the hill and formed the original nucleus of the City of David, and that after the building of the Temple, which occupied the southern part of the present Haram area, the terms Zion and the City of David were sometimes used in a larger sense so as to include the Temple; sometimes in a more confined sense to denote only the original city or the buildings to the north of the Temple" (pp. 12 ff.). He holds that the identification of Zion with the City of David obtained through the time of the Jewish Monarchy, but that, for the Maccabees, Zion was probably on the Western Hill. This erroneous identification was probably handed down to the early pilgrims, and later transmitted without break to modern times. Thrupp's arguments made little immediate impression, and appear later to have been quite overlooked. The Encyclopædia Biblica in its list of modern supporters of the general theory [1]—a list which includes many notable scholars—appears to regard W. F. Birch, 1878, as its first advocate. We may note that Thrupp supported his view by the same arguments that are used to-day, quoting the topographical passages of Nehemiah and the reference in II Chron. 32, 30 to the engineering works of Hezekiah, in connection with the Upper Spring of Gihon.

[1] That is, the placing of Zion at some point on the Eastern Hill.

The name of M. de Saulcy is best known in connection with his excavations at the so-called Tombs of the Kings, to the north of Jerusalem, in the interests of the identification assumed by the name, but disputed by most critics, beginning with Pococke. De Saulcy's partisanship of the earlier tradition dates from his first visit to Jerusalem in 1850–51, when he discovered in the tombs several lids of sarcophagi. In the autumn of 1863 he returned, armed with a Turkish permit to excavate. Uncovering the broad steps leading down to the great Court, he found in the latter a stone fragment which he took to be part of the propitiatory monument erected by Herod after the abortive attempt to recover treasure, and subsequently persuaded himself that he had discovered the place where this had stood. Within the sepulchre he found a sarcophagus inscribed with the name of a queen, which he suggested might be that of Zedekiah's wife. Notwithstanding the eloquence with which he plead his cause, the fact that the most elementary topographical arguments are against it deprived him of adherents.[1]

The esteem in which de Vogüé's Jerusalem labors are held is shown by the following quotation from the paper entitled "The History of Jerusalem Exploration" found in the Survey volumes of the Palestine Exploration Fund: "The work of the modern explorers has in great measure rendered obsolete the writings of all their predecessors, with the exception of the learned Robinson and the scien-

[1] See De Saulcy's Voyage autour de la Mer Morte et dans les Terres Bibliques, 1853; and Voyage en Terre Sainte, 1865.

tific work of de Vogüé." The latter's architectural labors in Jerusalem and vicinity were begun in 1854, when he made studies of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, of the Basilica at Bethlehem, and of several other churches. They were continued in 1862, after the completion of his mission to the 'Haurân and Northern Syria, by a minute investigation of the Haram. The results of these studies were published in "Les Églises de la Terre Sainte" (1860) and "Le Temple de Jérusalem" (1864), two magnificently illustrated works.[1]

So much for the Holy City. We may now proceed to consider some of the specialized scientific missions conducted during this period in various parts of the land. The results of the United States Expedition to the Dead Sea in 1848, under the leadership of

[1] Mention is perhaps due to two other works on Jerusalem. The City of the Great King (1858) contains the observations of Dr. Barclay, for three and a half years resident in Jerusalem as missionary physician. In association with a Turkish architect, sent by the Sultan to repair the Mosque of Omar, he enjoyed, for several weeks, official and unrestricted admission to every part of the sacred enclosure. The results of these exceptional opportunities are disappointing: he took many detailed measurements but furnished no general plan. Far more technical in form are the pretentious folios of Pierotti's Jerusalem Explored (1863). In his preface he claims that as architect-engineer to the Governor of Jerusalem he had been constantly occupied for eight years in excavating, in retracing the walls, and in examining the monuments. His ground-plans and rock-sections were an advance upon earlier work; their defects may be seen by a comparison with the results of the Ordnance Survey and the excavations of Warren. Instances of his gross inaccuracy in plan and description are noted on pp. 30–31 of The Recovery of Jerusalem. Among his actual discoveries may be counted the northern portion of the Ecce Homo Archway and the subterranean passage under the Daughters of Zion.

Lieut. W. F. Lynch, U.S.N., who had obtained an especial firman from the Sultan, can best be stated in his own words, found in his official report to the Secretary of the Navy: "The exploration of this sea was now complete; we had carefully sounded its depths, determined its geographical position, taken topographical sketches of its shores, ascertained the temperature, width, depth, and velocity of its tributaries, collected specimens of its own and of its tributary waters, and of every kind of mineral, plant, and flower, and noted the winds, currents, changes of weather, and all atmospheric phenomena. These, with a succinct account of events, exactly as they transpired, will give a correct idea of this sea as it has appeared to us. The same remark holds with respect to the Jordan and the country through which it flows."[1]

At Beyrout, Lynch was joined by the geologist, Dr. Anderson, formerly professor in Columbia College. On April 8th, three boats were embarked on the Sea of Galilee, two of metal, built in sections, and one of wood, which, however, soon foundered. The progress down the Jordan was a succession of dangers and excitements, due to the frequent rapids. For twenty-two days the metal boats were afloat in the waters of the Dead Sea, but this period included an excursion to Kerak. An especial geological report was prepared by Dr. Anderson, embracing his

[1] Official Report of the United States Expedition to Explore the Dead Sea and the River Jordan, by Lieut W. F. Lynch, Baltimore, 1852, p. 42. The author obtained official permission to publish a Supplementary Narrative, containing much matter of general interest, though unfit for an official report.

researches in this department in the district between the Lebanon and the Dead Sea shore.

Sixteen years later another mission, having the Dead Sea for its centre of operations, was organized by the Duc de Luynes. Its scope, however, was wider than that of the American Expedition. Almost exactly the same length of time was spent in making observations of the Dead Sea itself, but extended excursions were made into Ammon and Moab and down the Wady Arabah to the Gulf of Akaba, with a visit to Petra on the return journey. A supplementary trip was taken to Palmyra by de Vignes, Officer of Marine, who had commanded the boat on the Dead Sea; and another to Kerak and Shaubek by Mauss, architect of St. Anne's at Jerusalem. These, together with Lartet, the noted geologist of the expedition, furnished separate reports, which appeared in the second and third volumes of "La Mer Morte," published in sumptuous form after de Luynes' death, under the editorship of the Comte de Vogüé. The duke's especial scientific contributions to the work—mainly archæological—are found in his journals, which fill the first volume, but the editor regrets that the leader of the party, who controlled all the departments of research, was unable to carry out his plan of presenting a synthesis of the entire work of the expedition. Still, notwithstanding its *lacunæ*, he declares that the book "is destined to take an important place in the series of works devoted to the Holy Land."

De Vogüé acknowledges that his chief inspiration toward the investigation of the Orient came from the

Duc de Luynes. Accompanied by M. Waddington, the epigraphist, he conducted, in 1861 and 1862, the first serious examination of the monuments of Central Syria, by which name he includes the region bounded on the east by the desert and on the west by the three rivers, the Orontes, the Leontes, and the Jordan. This region is the main source of material for the study of Syrian architecture during the first six Christian centuries. The wonderful preservation of its ancient buildings—sometimes intact all but the roof—and their inaccessibility to the ordinary traveller bear a close mutual relation. Where man is living in prosperity, antiquity is in danger; where man cannot go in safety, the remains of the past have been kept immune. Standing in places either deserted or sparsely inhabited for centuries, the monuments of the 'Haurân and Northern Syria have largely escaped the fate of those on the thickly-populated sea-coast, where, from remote times to the present day, the constructions of one period have served as a quarry for the builders of another. On the other hand, the explorer who would penetrate the regions held by the Arabs must count with his hosts.[1]

The gain to architecture and epigraphy resulting from the expedition of de Vogüé and Waddington was immense. Its results were published in adequate form. On 151 plates accompanying "La Syrie Centrale" are represented, often with minute architectural detail, a number of temples, churches,

[1] The pioneer explorer of the 'Haurân was Seetzen (1805–7). The region was visited not long before de Vogüé by Cyril Graham (1857) and Wetzstein (1860–61).

convents, private dwellings, funerary monuments, etc. For forty years, until the American Archæological Expedition to Syria in 1899–90, this work remained the sole authority on the subjects treated.[1]

In 1863–64 the Rev. Canon Tristram headed an expedition, the chief object of which was to study the geology and natural history of Palestine. Especial attention was given to the Dead Sea basin, but other parts of the land were examined with considerable thoroughness; for example, ten consecutive days were spent on the shores of the Sea of Galilee and three weeks were devoted to the exploration of the region between this lake and the southern spur of Hermon.[2]

In a former lecture we explained our apparent favoritism in devoting what might strike the reader as disproportionate space to Felix Fabri, by stating that his importance for us lay not so much in his individual achievement as in the position he occupied at the beginning of a new era of Palestine Exploration. That we are now about to treat the work of Renan with a similar fulness is due to a similar reason. He claims our especial attention, not for the actual results of his explorations, less important in-

[1] La Syrie Centrale, by the Comte de Vogüé, in three volumes. The volume with the sub-title Inscriptions Semitiques was published several years before the Architecture Civile du Ier au VIIe Siècle (2 vols.). The Greek and Latin inscriptions collected by Waddington appeared first in the large work of Le Bas and were later published separately.

[2] The Land of Israel, by H. B. Tristram, 1865. The Land of Moab treats of a trans-Jordanic trip taken in 1871. Canon Tristram prepared the volume of the Survey of Western Palestine entitled Flora and Fauna.

deed than those of de Vogüé, whom we have treated with brevity, but because he was the first man to excavate on the Holy Land—or to speak more accurately, on the borders of the Holy Land—on a large scale. As excavation has now begun to play so large a part in exploration, we may appropriately dwell with considerable detail on its pioneer exponent, even though his methods may now appear to be crude and his results not commensurate with his opportunities.[1]

Renan landed at Beyrout in 1860 as the archæological envoy of Napoleon III., but representing to the Christian natives of the Lebanon a friendly people who had delivered them from the power of their enemies. The appointment of Renan to conduct an Archæological Mission in Phœnicia was almost exactly synchronous with the breaking out of the massacres in the Lebanon, when the butchering of thousands of Christians by Druses led to the French military occupation. This connection of events Renan calls a bizarre coincidence, but it was a chance leading to the happiest results. When so desired, the French soldiers, by Imperial command, exchanged their swords for spades. Their officers became overseers of the excavations laid out by Renan himself. The captains of war-vessels rapidly carried the explorer from one end of his long field of excavation to the other—from Tyre to Aradus, from Aradus back to Tyre. When transportation of antiquities became necessary, again the Navy was at his command. Nor was he indebted alone to the

[1] See Mission de Phénicie, dirigée par Ernest Renan. Paris, 1864.

army of occupation. Local French archæologists of note gave him valuable assistance. Gaillardot was unfailing in advice and practical service. Thobois, the architect, brought his especial studies to the examination of ancient buildings. Fuâd Pasha, especial Turkish envoy after the massacres, furthered the work in strictly Ottoman territory, as distinguished from the Lebanon. The Patriarch, Spiritual Lord of the Maronites, and practically Temporal Lord as well, placed clergy and people at his disposal, even permitting him to remove inscribed stones which had been built into the churches. The search for inscriptions in the regions of Batrûn and Jebail was pretty well exhausted, so Renan thinks, by the eagerness of the Maronite peasants, after he had announced to them that the great Napoleon wanted their aid in preparing a history of the land.

At first thought there is something amusing in this view of Renan as a Christian Hero. While writing in the very heart of Maronite territory his "Vie de Jésus," which antagonized the dogmas of this religious but bigoted people, he must often have smiled quietly to himself. We, too, are inclined to smile, but the smile fades away when we remember how many of the Christian virtues Renan showed in dealing with the peasantry. Moslems showed their hostility at Ruâd in overt acts; non-Catholic Christians viewed his researches with suspicion; but his references to all are full of that charity which seeks not to blame but to understand.

Renan was in Syria just one year, from October,

1860, to October, 1861. Immediately on landing he began a preliminary survey of the coast-district from Sidon as far as Jebail. Four campaigns in Phœnicia were decided upon, with the following places as centres, from which the surrounding districts could be explored: the campaign of Aradus (now Ruâd), the home of the ancient Arvadites; the campaign of Byblos, still earlier Gebal, the city of the Giblites; the campaign of Sidon; and the campaign of Tyre. Researches in these regions were to be supplemented by tours in Palestine, the land which, as he held, for the history of art formed an appendix to Phœnicia. This tremendous programme had to be carried out by the 1st of June, when the climate would interrupt excavations on the sun-baked Syrian plains, and when the co-operation of the army would no longer be available. Its details were in the hands of assistants, military and civil, while Renan acted as general director. But the accomplishment of the work thus laid out by no means exhausted our Frenchman's activity. His rapid passages from point to point to survey the various excavations; his personal examination with extraordinary detail of the districts surrounding each centre; his long tours in Galilee and in Southern Palestine had left him full of ardor to explore the higher Lebanon. At the termination of this tour at the end of July, he retired to the village of Ghazîr, above the exquisite little bay of Juneh, but not even then to rest. "I profited," he says, "by the profound tranquillity to write out the ideas which had been suggested to me by Palestine."

Here, then, was begun the "Vie de Jésus," the

first life of Christ to present a vivid and accurate picture of His earthly surroundings. The writing of this book was sanctified by a terrible loss. It is dedicated to "the pure soul of my sister Henriette," who died at Jebail (Byblos), September 24, 1861. "Recallest thou, in the bosom of God where thou dost repose," he says in his dedication, "Recallest thou the long days at Ghazîr where, alone with thee, I wrote these pages, inspired by the places which we visited together? Silent at my side thou didst re-read each leaf, and copy it as soon as it was written; while the sea, the villages, the ravines, the mountains, unrolled themselves at our feet. . . . Thou sleepest now in the land of Adonis near the holy Byblos and the sacred waters where the women of the ancient mysteries came to mingle their tears. Reveal to me, O good Genius, to me whom thou lovest, the verities that dominate death, that forbid us to fear and make us almost to love it." Prostrated by the same kind of fever that caused his sister's death, Renan lost consciousness for thirty-two hours. When again he came to himself, he was alone.

We may now glance rapidly at the results of the four campaigns above mentioned. The campaign of Aradus takes its name from the little island now called Rûad, off the Syrian coast, but the chief work was done on the main-land opposite. The sturdy insularity of the Moslem Arvadites did not favor archæological researches. Still, in the few days of his visit, Renan was able to examine the sea-wall, which he pronounces to be "the most authentic construction

of ancient Phœnicia,'' and to secure for the Louvre several antiques and inscribed bases of statues. On moving to the main-land, the brief period of sixty days, available for excavation, forced upon his attention alternative plans. He had to choose between the examination of the mass of ancient monuments at Amrît, the ancient Marathus, and the excavation of the numerous graves in the plains south of Tartûs—the Greek Antaradus, the Crusading Tortosa. The aim of his mission, which was a comparative study of Phœnician monuments, rather than the search for small objects, led him to the choice of Marathus. In the plains near Tartûs the coffins had, as a rule, been placed immediately in the ground, hence the vast sepulchre had no especial architectural interest. He points out that the search for objects in graves may be left to the cupidity of the natives, provided first that they do not destroy important monuments, and secondly that their wares reach the proper market—two provisions that have been proved to be difficult of realization.

Others besides Renan have also been forced to choose between two tempting forms of work. A similar alternative was forced upon me at Tell-Sandahannah in the summer of 1900, when my time was also limited. I had to choose between the thorough excavation of the Greek town buried by the upper layer of *débris* on the mound, and the tempting chance to devote myself entirely to looking for unopened graves in the surrounding cemeteries, already largely exploited by the Fellahîn. My choice of the former work was justified in my own eyes by the

plan which my colleague, Mr. Macalister, was able to make of almost a complete city, with its walls, gate, streets, and houses. Nor in the subsequent discovery of a richly painted tomb, where Drs. Peters and Thiersch found inscriptional substantiation of our identification of the place with Marissa, do I find a reason for regretting my decision.[1] The excavation of the town could not have been undertaken except by an expedition, such as those conducted by the Palestine Exploration Fund. This tomb, with many others, was bound to be discovered in time, and might have been overlooked in our short campaign, even if we had devoted this entirely to grave-hunting.

Before concentrating his attention on Amrît, Renan made a study of the walls of Tortosa, built by the Crusaders. This, taken in connection with studies of masonry at many other places, helped him to explode the theory that drafted and bossed stones are invariably signs of great antiquity. This style he shows to be found in Syria at every period. Of the monuments scattered over the plain of Amrît—monuments doubtless built by the islanders of Arvad—some had long been known to the Western world, others were discovered by Renan himself, but none, he says, had received adequate attention previously to his campaign. These monuments he held to be unique. Unlike that of all other Phœnician remains, their art appears to owe nothing to the West. The glory of Marathus had departed before Syria was

[1] Painted Tombs at Marissa (Maréshah). Described by Rev. J. P. Peters, D.D., and Dr. Hermann Thiersch. Published by the P. E. F.

transformed by the combined influence of Greece and Rome. Hence the absence of inscriptions, so rare in the early days of Phœnicia. Among the splendid plates of M. Thobois, we find none more beautiful than those on which are reproduced the stately sepulchral towers which dominate the landscape, and which attracted the attention of Burchard in the thirteenth century. Thorough excavation was made of the underlying tomb-chambers. But the most interesting among the remains is the place of worship described by Renan as the oldest and almost the only temple of the Semitic race known to be extant in his day. In the midst of a rock-hewn enclosure once completed by masonry, he found the foundation of a sort of cella which he compares with the tabernacle of the Hebrews.

The archæological field of Jebail presented great attractions to our explorer. Philo of Byblos supported the legend that his city was the oldest in the world. The Giblites played an important rôle in the constructions of Solomon. Here, early in the Christian era, the East and the West interpenetrated in a remarkable manner. During the time of the Antonines, into the ancient local cult—the sensuous cult of Thammuz or Adonis—was infused another element, highly spiritual and symbolic, namely, the sanctification and idealization of Death. As an obstinate centre of Paganism, it suffered still later from Christian iconoclasm. When the Crusaders seized the place it was probably only a mass of ruins. The small town which they built on part of the ancient site remains, so Renan says, almost stone for stone to this

day.[1] No wonder that he approached its excavation with the deepest excitement, tempered by his knowledge of the destructive nature of its vicissitudes. No wonder that the work here enjoyed his personal supervision to an extent unparalleled at the other centres.

The results of this campaign, however, are distinctly disappointing. The soil of the ancient town was hardly touched. In the large fields to the south of the modern village, under which doubtless lies a large part of the Phœnician Gebal, with the dwellings of the Greek Byblos superimposed, he made but few trenches, and these were, on the whole, unproductive. Near the Crusading Castle, at the southeast angle of the tower, he found a cube of masonry sixteen feet square, consisting of large stones. Not far away he turned up a capital of a column, three alabaster slabs with a characteristic Giblite ornament, and a bas-relief of a lion, showing no affinities with Western art, but resembling the work at Nineveh. From these meagre elements, by a study of historical authorities, as well as of coins on which is represented a temple adjoining a colonnaded court enclosing a pyramid, he reconstructs part of the Temple of Venus and Adonis, mentioned by the author of "De Dea Syria." In the cube of masonry he proposes to find the base of the pyramid; the stones of the temple itself he recognizes tentatively in the bossed masonry re-used in constructing the Crusading Castle; in the alabaster slabs he sees the ornamented facing of the pyramid base. That this

[1] A much exaggerated statement, except as applied to the town walls and the castle.

had been repaired in later times he thinks is suggested by slabs of inferior material discovered in the vicinity. We admire Renan's learning and ingenuity, but we cannot help feeling that these are here set to work on slight and insufficient data. Had he supplemented his free use of his learning with a freer use of the spade, the world might have been richer in actual knowledge. To exhaust the search for data before constructing theories should be the prime law of the scientific excavator. Renan doubtless exhausted the search for correlated objects in the vicinity of his masonry cube, but a large field in which clearer signs of the Temple of Venus and Adonis may yet remain buried was untouched. A note of levity sounds in the sentence near the end of his chapter on Byblos: "To sum up, apart from a few tombs and the monument which we discovered near the Castle, Canaanitish Gebal has disappeared." This may be so, but Renan did not prove it. Proof or disproof rests with the excavator of the future who shall turn over all the ancient *débris*, wherever it may be found, within or without the modern town. And disproved his statement will be unless analogy with other buried sites, which have been seriously excavated, fails altogether.

The examination of sepulchres in Jebail and vicinity was as thorough as the time permitted. That it was not exhaustive has been illustrated by the discovery of an ornamented sarcophagus at this site while I have been preparing this lecture. In the Giblite tombs, Renan recognizes almost every known form of sepulture, from a simple cavern,

analogous to the Cave of Machpelah, down to Roman sarcophagi and narrow ditch-graves of the Christian era. Adequate representation, however, of these is not forthcoming. Instead of a series of sheets with plans of typical tombs, showing the chronological development, we find a few free-hand sketches. It is also unfortunate that, with hardly an exception, the cemeteries which he examined had been robbed at some previous period. "The exploration of Byblos," he exclaims, "has been made fifty years too late." In the search for small objects to sell to collectors, sometimes tombs containing inscriptions had been destroyed. No better example can be given, he says, to show "how the petty curiosity of the *amateur* is the enemy of the noble curiosity of the *savant.*" In further illustration of the recent destruction of monuments, he points to the ancient materials, sometimes inscribed, which had been taken from Jebail and built into the modern houses of the neighboring village of 'Amschit. Even among the majestic precipices and noble glades of the sacred river Adonis, above whose banks he examined temples and rock-sculptures, he is forced to cry out against the recent vandalism of the peasants. "To build a miserable hovel," he tells us, "the natives have destroyed curious edifices; in the search for treasure, they have demolished sanctuaries preserved intact until our day; to find a few pieces of gold, offerings of the last of the pagans, they have broken down altars and overturned Baal from the pedestal where, I am assured, he still sat enthroned only three or four years ago!"

The work at Sidon was concentrated upon the clearing out of the large rock-cut cemetery acquired and still owned by the French Government. M. Gaillardot superintended the complete excavation of the tombs within a radius of sixty metres from Mugharet 'Adlûn, where, only a few years before, was made the discovery of the inscribed sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, which so fired the hopes of Phœnician epigraphists. Renan's Mission was not rewarded by the finding of inscriptions in this Sidon cemetery, but, notwithstanding the fact that robbers had previously explored it from end to end, the party recovered several beautiful anthropoid sarcophagi, which now ornament the Louvre. The chief spoil from Sidon, however, is in the Museum at Constantinople. The discovery, by a peasant in 1887, of the so-called sarcophagus of Alexander, whose delicate sculptures rival the Elgin Marbles, was the result of pure accident. Chance is your great discoverer. Chance found the Tell-el-Amarna tablets. Chance found the Siloam inscription. Chance brought to light the Map Mosaic of Madeba, when the ruined church of which it forms the flooring was rebuilt by order of the Greek Patriarch.

Beyond the radius just mentioned Gaillardot excavated more rapidly. Three sheets with elaborate plans and sections illustrate his analysis of the tomb-chambers, and cause us to regret, by contrast, the meagre record and inadequate representation of the large numbers of cemeteries found all along the coast from Latakîa to Umm-el-'Awamîd.

The chief interest of the campaign of Tyre centres

not in the ancient town itself, where Renan's reconstruction is almost purely theoretic and without monumental basis, nor in the adjacent cemeteries, which he says were only partially examined, but in the discoveries at the so-called Hiram's Tomb in the near vicinity, and at Umm-el-'Awamîd—formerly a town called Laodicea, some ten miles to the south. At the former place was uncovered a fine mosaic, which was taken up and transported to the Louvre by the Roman mosaist Taddei. The remains of Græco-Phœnician antiquity at Umm-el-'Awamîd, including a series of Phœnician inscriptions, led Renan to recommend this site, above all others, to the attention of future explorers. We may note that his prognostications have been recently justified by the discovery of the fragment of a statue with a Phœnician inscription.

The above sketch hardly does justice to Renan's activity in accomplishing his year's mission. The amount of ground covered by the expedition explains at once its merits and its deficiencies. What Science gained in data for a comparative study of Phœnician monuments is considerable. Had he confined himself to one point, Jebail, for instance, while his account of that place would have been far richer, it could not have been so well correlated with other Phœnician centres, as can be the more meagre account actually furnished. We cannot regret, then, that he did not confine himself to Jebail. And yet we could wish that he had put more of his time, there available, into the examination of the ancient *débris* and less into pursuing minute questions relative to

the tombs. In other words, he did not make the most of his unique opportunity for actual excavation. He seemed not to have considered that his advantages for surface-exploration might be enjoyed, to a large extent, by future travellers, but that, humanly speaking, never again would a digger be allowed so free a hand in Syria. In compensation, however, we must remember that while the future excavator of Jebail must comply with Ottoman regulations, must turn all his finds over to the Imperial Museum, and must satisfy the lawful demands of land-owners and planters of crops,[1] he will bring to his work more scientific methods of digging than were known in the day of Renan's mission. The great and modest Frenchman would be the first to recognize this were he still among us. In his own work he saw only a preparation. "We do not pretend," he says in conclusion, "to have exhausted a land which for centuries will continue to exercise the labors of archæologists. We have sought less to shine than to serve the progress of Science. We shall be sufficiently recompensed if those who come after us find in this book useful indications." In seeking to compare the results of his own digging with Phœnician monuments already known, the future excavator of Jebail will find himself under great obligations to the author of the "Mission de Phénicie."

[1] The excavation even of those parts of the ancient city which lie beyond the town walls would now be very expensive, owing to the numerous mulberry-groves.

LECTURE VII

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

On June 22, 1865, a large and distinguished body of men, meeting in Willis's Rooms, London, under the chairmanship of the Archbishop of York, formally organized the Palestine Exploration Fund. As far as its aims were concerned this organization was but a re-institution of a Society formed about the year 1804 under the name of the Palestine Association. This Society proposed to procure and publish information regarding the state of the Holy Land; its geography, its people, its climate, and its history. The only volume which appears to have been issued was "A Brief Account of the Countries Adjoining the Lake of Tiberias, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea (1810)"—a translation of papers written by Seetzen, which came into the Society's possession through the National Institute of Paris. The Association appears, however, to have despatched two especial agents to conduct an exploration, but they are said to have got no farther than Malta, owing to rumors of the dangerous condition of Palestine. There is no evidence that the Committee held meetings between 1805 and 1834. At this latter date it was decided to dissolve the Association and to hand over a balance of some £135 to the Committee of the Royal Geo-

graphical Society, on the ground that its scope covered the aims of the Palestine Association. More than forty years later, in 1876, a request was made to the President of the Royal Geographical Society by a number of the Fellows, many of whom were at the same time serving on the General Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, that the above sum should be transferred to the new Society, which was successfully carrying out the work that had been temporarily abandoned. Whether this request was granted or not I have not ascertained, but in any case it is interesting to note that the General Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund recognized an organic connection with the earlier Society.[1]

In a prospectus presented by a sub-committee at the second meeting of the Fund, it was clearly recognized that much careful work along various lines had been accomplished by explorers since Robinson had laid down the principles for true scientific research. "But," so runs the prospectus, ". . . their researches have been partial and isolated, and their results in too many cases discrepant with each other. What is now proposed is an expedition of thoroughly competent persons in each branch of research, with perfect command of funds and time, who should produce a report on Palestine which might be accepted by all parties as a trustworthy and thoroughly satisfactory document."

The key-note of the prospectus is found in the

[1] The statement is quite explicit: "The Society thus dissolved in 1834 was instituted again in 1865." See Letter to the Royal Geographical Society; Q. S., 1876, p. 154 ff.

phrases "thoroughly competent persons" and "perfect command of funds and time." Competent persons had indeed explored the Holy Land, but upon most of them had been enforced an economy of funds or time, sometimes of both. No one felt the limitations hedging in the single traveller better than Robinson. Proper exploration, he says in substance, cannot be regarded as within the power and opportunities of any single individual. Illness thwarted his own plans for visiting Northern Syria. Illness and other causes were destined to interrupt the work of individual officers of the Fund, but they represent a home-committee always ready and able to supply a vacant place.

The Constitution of the Palestine Exploration Fund is as follows: There is a large General Committee, under the patronage of the Throne, whose aggregate names, to quote the late Honorary Secretary, Sir Walter Besant, forms almost a list of British worthies from 1865 to the present day.[1] The original membership included the Archbishop of York, three bishops, the Dukes of Argyll and Devonshire, the Earls of Shaftesbury and Derby, the Speaker of the House, Dean Stanley, Dr. Plumptre, Sir Gilbert Scott, Professor Owen, Canon Tristram, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Messrs. Grove, Fergusson, and Williams, etc. This Committee is called together but once a year to hear the report of the Executive Committee, chosen from its members. The business of the Society is transacted at bi-

[1] Sir Walter wrote in 1892; see The City and the Land: Lectures, p. 101.

monthly meetings by this smaller body, whose numbers average almost twenty. The Office and Museum are in charge of the paid Secretary. Sir Walter Besant held this post from 1868 to 1886, and acted as Honorary Secretary from the latter date to the time of his death. His acceptance of the Secretaryship was, he tells us, the result of a fortunate accident, namely, his being for the moment one of the unemployed. Fortunate it certainly was for the Society. Though, strangely enough, never in Palestine himself, he had an immense enthusiasm for the cause. Of the £85,000 collected up to the year 1892, £65,000 were obtained by his efforts. Fortunate it also appears to have been for Sir Walter. For one person who knows of his connection with exploration, twenty know only of the successful novelist. With no detriment to his office duties, in his spare hours this indefatigable worker laid the foundation for his wider reputation. Indeed, he has somewhere recommended would-be writers to obtain a similar post, which would secure them a moderate income while adventuring the uncertain paths of literature. Mr. George Armstrong, Sir Walter's successor, brought to his work a personal knowledge of the land, gained during his long connection with the Survey party. To the general public he is known as the clever constructor of the beautiful raised maps. By the inner circle his devotion to the Society is recognized as being equal to that of his distinguished predecessor. It has been my good fortune to come into close contact with two chairmen. Sir Charles Wilson, indeed, did not occupy

the chair till after my connection with the Fund had ceased, but, as former surveyor of the Holy City, he had an especial interest in my Jerusalem excavations, and later visited my camp at Tell-Zakarîya. In 1901 he succeeded Mr. James Glaisher, the famous aeronaut, who, during his twenty years' occupancy of the chair, had missed hardly a single meeting. Mr. Glaisher continued to hold a position on the Executive Committee till his death in 1903, at the age of ninety-four.

It has been the aim of the Fund to choose specialists for the Executive Committee. Architecture, numismatics, epigraphy, philology, art, natural science, history, archæology, and military tactics have all been represented by well-known names. Touch has also been kept with other scholars. The Committee has shown a large-minded conception of the relations to be borne toward officers in the field. Instructions once given, explorers have seldom been hampered by martinet orders respecting detail. In cases where the members are capable of giving exact specifications, as, for example, in the well-studied field of Jerusalem topography, such specifications are forthcoming, but in other cases, such as the excavation of the mounds, the explorer is left to his best judgment as to methods, provided that appropriations are not exceeded. Indeed, I doubt if many other organizations, workings at long range, can tell such a story of harmonious relations between home-committee and men on the field. But what is still more exceptional, the men on the field have been at peace among themselves, and the Committee itself has never been split

by inner quarrels. No wonder that the Society, now in its fortieth year, is still flourishing!

At the preliminary meeting of the new Society in 1865, the Archbishop of York laid down the following principles for its guidance: 1. That whatever was undertaken should be carried out on scientific principles. 2. That the Society should, as a body, abstain from controversy. 3. That it should not be started, nor should it be conducted as a religious Society. Strict adherence on the whole has been given to these principles. The men who have officered the expeditions have been specialists in their own line of work. The first excavations at Jerusalem and the Survey were conducted by Royal Engineers lent by the War Office. The Geological party was headed by Professor Hull. Petrie brought to the unravelling of the mound of Lachish his vast experience of excavation in Egypt. Nor have the agents conducting smaller undertakings been less trained to their work. No man ever knew his Jerusalem as Dr. Schick knew it. No Palestinian archæologist has shown greater erudition than Professor Clermont-Ganneau. In regard to the second point, while the pages of the Society's organ, the *Quarterly Statement*, are occasionally enlivened with pretty sharp discussion, it is distinctly stated in each number that the individual authors are alone responsible for the positions taken. The Committee pronounces no opinion. The Committee, as a Committee, says Sir Walter, has no opinion. Again, the non-committal platform as to religious matters is illustrated by the roll of members, which, besides a number of Jews, includes Roman Catholics,

Greeks, Anglicans, and Protestants of other churches, including Unitarians. "It simply invites support," says Besant, "from all those persons who happen to be interested in a certain collection of books, apart from any doctrine which may have been deduced from those books, or any opinion as to the weight of those books, and apart from the fact that to very many these are and always will be the most precious books in the world."

It should be noticed that when the Committee first appealed for funds in support of the Society, the members hoped to accomplish the work of the Exploration of Palestine in a few years. Accordingly, they asked for donations rather than for annual subscriptions. The sum of £8,000 obtained during the first three years falls almost entirely under the first category. When the Jerusalem excavations were announced in 1867, response to the appeal for money came from many and various quarters. The Queen gave £150; the University of Oxford, £500; the University of Cambridge, £250; among other cities, Edinburgh and Glasgow made handsome contributions. A vast number of small donations, some of which came from people of very modest means, foreshadowed the list of annual subscribers who were later to form the main-stay of the Fund. For the larger part of its existence, in the matter of support, the Society has resembled the great Missionary Boards. As an accredited Institution its maintenance has become a tradition. Turning over the list of annual subscribers, we find many names repeated from year to year, from decade to decade.

The number of members who contribute from $2.50 to $10 ranges from 2,500 to 3,000. The majority are in the United Kingdom, but subscriptions come from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, etc. Dr. T. F. Wright, of Cambridge, Mass., is Honorary General Secretary for the United States, and there are Honorary Secretaries in twenty States. When an important expedition is in the field, the membership is apt to rise; when a given exploration is over, it drops. Large donations are not entirely unknown, but little dependence is placed on these. This large *clientèle* of subscribers of small sums has secured to the Society a permanence, a continuity which it could not have enjoyed had it been started as the pet scheme of a small group of millionnaires.

Such a *clientèle* has, however, certain disadvantages. The subscribers must be interested, or they may cease to subscribe. To interest by the same journal all the members of a heterogeneous body is the almost impossible task set before the editor of the *Quarterly Statement*, which has been the Organ of the Fund since 1869. Among the supporters of the Society we find the Biblical and Archæological specialists of Europe and America; we find a large number of clergymen and others who, though not specialists, yet approach the subject of exploration in a scientific spirit; we find a mass of people interested in anything that concerns the Bible and the land of its birth, provided that the material is presented in a popular way; and finally, we find the cranks with an especial axe to grind. We hasten to say

that the last-named class has little consideration accorded it by the Editor. Occasionally such a heading as "Where are the Sacred Vessels of the Temple?" may cause the judicious to grieve, but this sort of article appears, I am glad to note, only by exception. However, the juxtaposition of papers having a popular character with the scientific reports of the accredited agents of the Fund robs the *Quarterly Statement* of the unity which it might have had were it either a strictly popular or a strictly scientific journal. The successive numbers form a series of surprises, agreeable and otherwise. A given number, issued when no campaign is in progress, may furnish no food for the scholar, while the number succeeding may be full of important matter, original and critical. Still, the thirty-six volumes, from 1869–1905, form a storehouse, vast and rich, of all sorts of information regarding Syria and Palestine. Viewed as a collection, it is simply indispensable. Here are the *ad-interim* reports of the Officers conducting the great campaigns, upon which have been based the books published by the Fund, showing in some cases how opinions were formed which are merely stated in the books themselves. Here is a multitude of papers by Dr. Conrad Schick, who, as a local architect enjoying the confidence of Moslems and Christians alike, was able to make detailed notes on buildings difficult of access, and to visit almost all the holes dug in the precious *débris* of Jerusalem during a long series of years.[1] Here are

[1] Dr. Schick wrote much for the journal of the German Society also.

the narratives of Dr. Post's botanical tours. Here are the notes on folk-lore made by Mr. Baldensperger, bee-keeper in the land of the Philistines. Here are the meteorological tables of the late chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. Glaisher.[1]

The fuller title of the Palestine Exploration Fund is: A Society for the Accurate and Systematic Investigation of the Archæology, the Topography, the Geology and Physical Geography, the Manners and Customs of the Holy Land for Biblical Illustration. The attempts that have been made to carry out the main items of this programme we may now illustrate by a rapid review of the chief expeditions sent out during the last forty years. The fact of my connection with three of these must naturally condition my treatment of them all. The allotment of considerable space to my own work does violence to my theoretical sense of proportion, but, on the other hand, the practical side of exploration can best be illustrated by personal experience, even when the range of this is limited. In treating of the work of those whom, in a broad sense, I have the honor to call my colleagues, the attempt will be made to follow a method descriptive rather than critical.

Six months after the founding of the Society the first expedition was organized under the command of Captain (now General Sir Charles) Wilson, who, in the interests of a scheme for bringing water to the city, had just completed the Ordnance Survey of

[1] Our account of the organization and early history of the Fund is based mainly on Thirty Years' Work: a Memoir of the Work of the Society, by Sir Walter Besant. P. E. F.

Jerusalem.[1] He was accompanied by Lieutenant Anderson. While the principal object of this expedition, which was in the field from December, 1865, to May, 1866, was to indicate spots for further investigation, several definite results were obtained. A series of reconnoissance maps was formed, on the scale of one inch to the mile, showing the whole backbone of the country. An especial study was made of the Synagogues noticed in Galilee by Robinson, but inadequately described by him. Excavations were made on Mt. Gerizim, where were laid bare the foundations of an octagonal church, built in turn on a rough platform which may possibly be that on which the Samaritan Temple stood.

When Lieutenant—now General Sir Charles—Warren left England in 1867, it was the hope of the Committee that the two main problems connected with Jerusalem topography would be settled once for all: namely, the exact position of the Temple within the walls of the present Haram enclosure, and the course of the three northern walls of the ancient city, so closely connected with the discussion of the site of the Holy Sepulchre. But owing to the tremendous convulsions which the Holy City has suffered during the course of the ages; to the jealous care with which the Moslems guard their sacred sites; and to the impossibility of making systematic excavations under modern constructions—the data for solving these problems were either destroyed or unavailable. Warren came and went, but Wilson

[1] See Thirty Years' Work, p. 42.

still holds to Fergusson's theory of the site of the Temple at the southwest corner of the enclosure, as over against a position near the present Mosque of Omar. Warren came and went, and controversialists still draw the second wall in a line to include or to exclude the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, as may best suit the theory held.

But wherever may have been the exact site of the Temple itself, Warren left no doubt as to the solidity and splendor of the Temple enclosure. In achieving his results he was engaged in a constant strife with man and matter. The Governor interposed almost daily obstacles. The soil burying the Temple walls consisted of the most treacherous *débris.* The first difficulty he combated by robust diplomacy; the second, by daring engineering. By an extraordinary series of shafts and tunnels he proved that in many cases the enclosing walls descend from 80 to 125 feet below the present surface. So secure were made these galleries by wooden frames, that numerous travellers were able to touch the massive foundation-stones and to wonder at the *graffiti* in Semitic characters scratched on these ages ago. Measurements were taken to the fraction of an inch; minute variations in stone-dressing were noted; every clew that might point to the chronology of the construction was followed up. This, however, was not settled in a way to satisfy all experts. Warren himself, for example, saw grounds for referring parts of the south and west walls to the Solomonic era, parts to the Herodian. Conder thinks that the foundations of the entire structure, except at the north-

east angle of the present Haram Court, represent the Herodian period.

But Warren's activity was not confined to the Temple enclosure. Following up the clews given by Robinson's Arch, he laid bare further remains of the viaduct once connecting the Temple with the Western Hill. The wall of Ophel abutting on to the southeast angle of the enclosure was traced for over 800 feet; various ancient aqueducts outside the city were followed and measured; rock-levels were ascertained at numerous points; and small excavations were made within the city where my later permit did not allow me to work. Apart from the Jerusalem investigations, a rapid reconnoissance Survey was made through the country, and cuttings were made in the Jericho mounds.

In "The Recovery of Jerusalem," edited in 1870 by Walter Morrison, M.P., Honorary Treasurer of the Fund, may be found Warren's report, prepared under heavy pressure immediately on his return to England, while suffering from fever and exhaustion. It is unfortunate that his work should have first been known through this medium. In a narrative compiled under such circumstances we are not surprised to find a mass of undigested material—a sort of patchwork made up chiefly of extracts from his own letters, in which the record of shafts and tunnels alternates with personal details of no scientific relevance.[1] It was not till 1884 that the results of his

[1] In a popular work called Underground Jerusalem, Warren complains with some bitterness of his having been obliged to prepare this abbreviated report.

splendid work appeared in adequate scientific form, in his own contribution to the Jerusalem Volume of the Survey of Western Palestine. This was accompanied by a portfolio of plans, greatly supplementing those published in connection with the earlier work.

The onerous task of surveying Western Palestine on the scale of one inch to the mile was undertaken in 1871 by the advice of Wilson, Warren, and Anderson. In other words, it was determined by the Committee to substitute an actual Survey for the numerous reconnoissances that had previously been made. The best map then available was that of Van de Velde, which combined the results of his own observations with those of former cartographers. These, however, had not been made with scientific precision. On Van de Velde's map the hill-shading was merely sketched in, the courses of the valleys were laid down roughly, the position of sites had been determined mainly by the reckoning of time taken in passing from place to place. But the information thus furnished was not only indefinite in character: it was limited in extent. The whole number of place-names indicated upon it amounted to about 1,800. How vast a labor lay before the Survey Officers the reader may gather from the statement that for every name found on Van de Velde's map, they were destined to collect five.

The chronicle of the Survey is briefly told. The party, landing in Palestine in 1871, consisted of Captain Stewart, R.E., officer in command, with Sergeant Black and Corporal Armstrong as staff-

assistants; and of Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, Archæologist, fresh from the exploration of the Desert of the Exodus, which, in company with the Arabic scholar, Professor Palmer, he had traversed on foot, for the Fund.[1] While measuring the base-line on the plain of Esdraelon, Captain Stewart was struck down by fever and invalided home. The work, however, suffered little interruption. When Captain Conder arrived in July, 1872, to replace Captain Stewart, he found that 500 square miles had been surveyed with a thoroughness that left unnoticed nothing of value in the district. For over three years Conder labored with hardly a break, except for a three-months' holiday in 1874, when he was obliged to recruit his health by a trip home. In July of the next year the work came to an abrupt stop in consequence of an attack made on the party at Safed. Soon after, cholera breaking out, the explorers left for England. Four-fifths of the Survey was then complete. The remaining portion was accomplished in the year 1877–78 under the direction of Captain (now Lord) Kitchener, who had joined the earlier expedition after the death of Mr. Drake in 1874. The great map, published in 1880, extends over an area of 6,000 square miles, from a point near Tyre to the Egyptian Desert, from the Jordan to the Mediterranean.

This Survey remains the monumental work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. It is not, perhaps, too much to say, with Sir Walter Besant, "that nothing has ever been done for the illustration and right

[1] See Q. S., Jan., 1871.

understanding of the historical portions of the Old and New Testaments, since the translation into the Vulgar tongue, which may be compared with this great work." The successful attempt to approximate in Palestine the accuracy of the Ordnance Survey of England involved the overcoming of obstacles non-existent in the home-land. Passing over the matters of a strange climate, of transportation and commissariat, of a population whose suspicions were aroused by the mere sight of scientific instruments, we may signalize the difficulty of correctly ascertaining place-names previously quite unknown except to the people of the land. Colonel Conder states that he had to contend not only against ignorance and fanatical feeling, but sometimes also against a tendency on the part of the Fellahîn to substitute for the real name of a ruin an appellation caught from some European bound to exploit an identification.

Notwithstanding the mistakes that occur among the 9,000 Arabic names collected, the list contains a vast treasure-chamber of Biblical nomenclature. Conder proposed many new identifications. Some of them have been disputed; others will be disputed in the future. But in proposing, in a given case, an alternative site, the disputant may find his first clew in a study of this very list.

The publication of the great map was followed by that of the explanatory Memoirs.[1] While all topographical work undertaken previously to the Survey was but a preparation for this great map, which has,

[1] The Survey of Western Palestine (7 volumes). P. E. F.

as it were, spoken the final word, we are bound to state that the sections in the Memoirs dealing with archæology may be regarded in general as reconnoissance work. This is no more than might have been expected. It was one thing to fix the position of hundreds of ruins; it was quite another to examine each one of these exhaustively. The unequal character of the work in this department has been indicated in a former lecture where we compared it, not unfavorably, with that of Guérin.[1]

In 1881 the Committee despatched Conder to effect the Survey of Eastern Palestine on the same scale with that of Western Palestine. The attempt to make the old Firman serve for the new work was unsuccessful, and after a campaign of ten weeks, during which 500 square miles were covered, the party was obliged to withdraw.[2] What an especial expedition was unable to do, has, however, been largely accomplished during the last twenty years by the work of a single individual, exploring sometimes for the Fund, sometimes for the German Exploration Society, sometimes under other auspices. Dr. Gottlieb Schumacher, of Haifa, illustrates the great advantages for exploration enjoyed by a foreign resident who has an organic connection with the life of the Holy Land. Officially recognized as an engineer surveying for a proposed railway, he was able as early as 1885 to begin a series of maps which now cover almost all the trans-Jordanic districts. Part of the work is still

[1] In Tent Work in Palestine, Conder presented the story of the Survey in popular form.

[2] The Survey of Eastern Palestine (1 volume), by C. R. Conder. P. E. F.

mere reconnoissance, but for accuracy of detail and extent of archæological information his labors in the district of 'Ajlûn are comparable to those of the Surveyors of Western Palestine. As Dr. Schumacher is still in the prime of life, we may hope that the whole territory will be surveyed with similar detail.

The Archæological Mission intrusted to M. Clermont Ganneau in 1873–74, while the Survey of Western Palestine was going on, was very general in its nature. Several years before, while connected with the French Consulate at Jerusalem, he had shown great energy in the unfortunate matter of the Moabite Stone. It was owing to his efforts that the larger fragments left after its wanton demolition by the Arabs were finally secured for the Louvre. For a year and ten days M. Ganneau, notwithstanding the embarrassment consequent upon the non-arrival of the expected Firman, attempted to follow up every clew he could gather from the natives which might lead to discoveries in Jerusalem and the vicinity. He also examined with some minuteness the region between Jaffa and Jerusalem, and made an excursion to Samaria and thence to Gaza. The somewhat miscellaneous results of these investigations, published at first in the *Quarterly Statement*, may now most conveniently be read in his "Archæological Researches in Palestine," in two volumes, which appeared in 1896 and 1899, or twenty-two and twenty-five years respectively after the date of his Mission. Prominent among these were the studies of Crusading Mason Marks; the discovery of the Gezer boundary-stones; the examination of various ancient cemeteries; and

explorations in the interior of the Haram, where he was accorded especial facilities.

In the winter of 1883–84 a geological Survey of the Wady-el-'Arabah and adjacent districts was conducted by Prof. Edward Hull. Major Kitchener, who accompanied his party, made a complete triangulation of the district lying between the Mountains of Sinai and the Wady-el-'Arabah, together with that of the Wady-el-'Arabah itself, bounded on the west by the table-land of the Tih and on the east by the mountains of Edom and Moab.[1]

With the consent of Dr. Flinders Petrie to leave for a brief period his Egyptian field of research, the work of Palestine Exploration entered upon a new phase. Whether Petrie was or was not actually the founder of the school in whose view no ancient object, however humble, is negligible, he is certainly its most notable exponent. In 1890, after a long period of disappointment, the Fund was in possession of an Imperial permit authorizing excavations for two years in a district of Southern Palestine rich in ruins. Among these were Khurbet 'Ajlân, identified on onomastic grounds with Eglon; and Umm Lâkis and Tell-el-Hesy, claimants for the site of Lachish. Convinced after a brief examination that the remains at the two former sites had neither the extent nor the antiquity to warrant identification with towns important in early history, he turned his attention to the mound of Tell-el-Hesy, which, to the eye of most travellers, counterfeited a natural hill, but which to

[1] See The Geology of Palestine and Arabia Petræa, by Prof. E. Hull.

his trained vision promised rich results even before systematic excavations were begun. Pocket-knife in hand, he climbed the steep slope to the east, where, owing to the encroachment of the stream during the course of ages, a section of the artificial mound had been practically laid bare. The story of the site was suggested in outline by fragments of pottery of various ages, some strewing the surface, others dislodged from the side, as well as by the indications of strong walls of mud-brick not easily to be distinguished by the ordinary observer from natural unworked soil, but clear enough to Petrie's eye, and clearer still after a little scraping with the pocket-knife. This story, thus early hinted, grew daily clearer through the course of a brilliant campaign of six weeks, during which Dr. Petrie personally superintended the trench-work of some thirty diggers. When these deserted him for the joys of the harvest, our archæologist, relying for his chronological data chiefly on the pottery, was in a position to maintain that Tell-el-Hesy represented the site of a strongly fortified town, founded in the dim ages before the Hebrew conquest, and occupied with more or less continuity almost until the period of the Seleucidan Kings. In other words, the history of the place was found to run parallel with that of Lachish, and, accordingly, the arguments for their identity, strong before the excavations, were placed on a firm archæological basis.[1]

Bearing away with native modesty his rapidly won Palestinian laurels, Petrie returned to his preferred

[1] Lachish, by Prof. Flinders Petrie. P. E. F.

sphere of Egyptian research, leaving the Committee of the Fund with a permit to dig on their hands. In honoring me with the appointment to carry on Petrie's work at Lachish, the Committee made it easier for me to accept this by sending me to Egypt for a short apprenticeship to my predecessor, in the art of practical digging. As the site had yielded up all the secrets that could be extracted by trench-work, Petrie pointed out that there was nothing left for me to do but to cut down the mound itself, layer by layer, in order to ascertain the number of the occupations and the character of each. Accordingly, one spring day in the year 1891 found me pacing the lofty top of Tell-el-Hesy, estimating the amount of time it would take to investigate, with the minuteness, which I had learned to be the digger's only salvation, the mass of *débris* accumulated to a height of some sixty feet on the natural bluff, itself also rising some sixty feet above the level of the stream-bed. That this could not be accomplished in the time still available, including the year's extension of the permit which the law allowed, became evident at once. My plans, then, were modified by the decision to confine the work to the northeast part of the hill, where almost one-third of each town could be examined in an area enclosing portions of the ramparts. When I rode away from the site almost two years later, the hill presented an appearance to startle the unwary geologist. The northeast corner had been shifted down sixty feet, and reappeared in slopes of earth above the stream-bed to the east and the barley-field to the north. This earth (over 700,000 cubic feet) repre-

sented the material out of which had been built successively eight mud-brick towns, all bearing the name of Lachish, and covering a period of over 1,200 years. A plan of the excavated area of every town—its ramparts, houses, granaries, etc.—had been made previous to its piecemeal removal in baskets. Pending the development of the law of the X-rays or the practical application of the mysterious fourth dimension, such piecemeal removal of a town is the only possible condition for the exhaustive examination of an underlying occupation. Two cliffs, at the limits of the excavated area, furnished corroborative evidence to the testimony of the plans, by revealing at various heights sections of walls that had been cut through. The varying civilizations had been illustrated by various finds in stone, earthen-ware, bronze, iron, and paste. A cuneiform tablet of the fifteenth century, B.C., linked the place with Tell-el-Amarna in Egypt. The objects in pottery illustrated the development of ceramic art from early pre-Israelite to Greek times. In a word, while the results of my long campaign were naturally far richer than those of Dr. Petrie's reconnoissance, they did not materially alter his conclusions.[1]

The next campaign, conducted at Jerusalem by myself, with the assistance of Mr. A. C. Dickie, involved phases of digging quite other than those which had confronted me at Tell-el-Hesy. At the latter place, the simple decision made before ground was broken sufficed for two years. The plan to cut down one-third of the mound had merely to be carried out.

[1] A Mound of Many Cities; or, Tell-el-Hesy Excavated, by F. J. Bliss. P. E. F.

No new major problem arose. Within the circumscribed field of excavation, of course, minor problems demanded constant attention; notably, the necessity of distinguishing between mud-brick *in situ* and mud-brick fallen or decayed. In other words, we had to guard against the constant danger of confounding portions of buildings still standing with the similar material in which they were buried, and which, indeed, had once formed component parts thereof. During the course of our three years' work at Jerusalem (1894–97), however, fresh problems arose with the striking of every fresh clew. Our field of actual excavation was indeed limited, in the main, to the slopes of the hills to the south of the present city wall, but in tracing the ancient south walls at various periods, and in following up accidental discoveries made in connection with our chief work, we never could predict in what exact portion of this large area we might soon be called upon to break ground. Once, in opening up a new shaft in a field under which a portion of the city wall was buried, I was asked by the peasant proprietor: "How long will you be working here?" "Perhaps only three days, perhaps three months," was my answer. My uncertainty was based on experience. While tracing a line of wall near the Pool of Siloam we came across an ancient stairway of noble proportions leading down to the Pool. The following of this clew led to the striking of others, which had in turn to be followed up. Thus weeks were devoted to the excavation of an early church which had been built down over a portion of the neglected stairway.

Again, at Tell-el-Hesy we were always working in the open air; at Jerusalem our diggers were rarely above ground. It was always imperative to examine the foundations of a given wall, and as these were usually buried under a mass of *débris*, we were obliged to pursue the system of tunnelling practised by Sir Charles Warren. This *débris*, which may be termed Ancient Jerusalem in Decay, was found to vary greatly in character. Sometimes shale and chippings, pouring down from the roof of the tunnel, rendered the latter so unsafe that it had to be abandoned. Usually, however, danger of caving-in could be averted by the use of wooden frames. And sometimes the made soil consisted of earth so compact and solidified that for scores of yards no protection was used at all. When the rock sloped, the tunnel had to be bored up or down hill, as the case might be. When the air became foul, a fresh shaft had to be opened up farther along the line. Near the open drain, which pours its inky fluid into the Lower Pool of Siloam, the oozing galleries had to be sprinkled with carbolic acid, to the discomfiture of the long line of basket-boys, who declared a preference for the more natural conditions. Our deepest shaft was in the centre of the Tyropœan Valley, where rock was reached at seventy feet from the surface. Our most difficult shaft was sunk against the wall crossing the valley below the Old Pool, where the work took the form of quarrying away a solid retaining wall built against the original rampart.

This is no place for exploiting the reasons which led to our assigning one rampart to one period, one

to another. Briefly we may state, that of the three distinct lines which we traced on the south slopes, the first appears to us to antedate the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus—parts of it to antedate Nehemiah; the second is apparently the wall of the Empress Eudocia, who, in the fifth century, included the Pool of Siloam within the city; and the third, undoubtedly mediæval, appears to be that which occurs on the map of Marino Sanuto, A.D. 1321.[1]

While long portions of these walls were traced, their ruin was proved to be complete at several points. How to regain a lost clew was always an anxious problem. In one case this was at our disposal some days before we suspected it. In cleaning out an ancient drain, cut like a trench in the rock, but roofed by covers, we were obliged to secure fresh air from time to time by sinking new shafts from the surface of the ground and removing the slabs. One day, in re-examining the shafts, I noticed that in one or two cases the slabs had not only covered the drain, but extended to one side or the other. Here, then, was a simple clew for finding the lost wall: the drain clearly ran under a paved street; the paved street was doubtless within the city; followed in the right direction, it must lead to a gate; to discover a gate would be to rediscover the wall. And so the matter turned out. In another case the loss of clew was due not to the destruction of the wall, but to its disappearance under a modern Jewish cemetery, where excavation was, of course, impossible. Would it reappear on the other

[1] Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894–97, by F. J. Bliss; plans and illustrations by A. C. Dickie. P. E. F.

side, and if so, where? Fortunately the line ran on unaltered in direction, and was recovered in a trench at the point hoped for. Identity was proved by comparison of the character of the stone-dressing of the two portions, as well as of their thickness. Again, the clew was rendered uncertain for the moment by the objections of a Moslem proprietor to our digging in his field. Regaining it in the field beyond, we were able to push ahead. But when, months later, we came to terms with the Moslem gentleman, the portion of wall temporarily neglected proved to be of prime importance in determining chronological questions.

In the autumn of 1898 a two-years' permit was available for the excavation of several sites in the Shephelah, that once-debated ground between the Hebrews and the Philistines. My associate for this campaign was Mr. R. A. S. Macalister. Unfortunately, the investigation of the chief problem set before us by the Committee—namely, the identification of Tell-es-Sâfi with Gath—was hampered by the modern encumbrances of the site—a village, a Moslem shrine, and a cemetery—which preëmpted a large part of the area. However, the excavations which we were able to make were, on the whole, favorable to the identification. We proved that the place was certainly as old and as important as Gath, and that its fortifications, traced in detail, probably date from Jewish times when Gath had a city wall. At a depth of twenty feet we found a heathen "High Place" of pre-Israelite times—three monoliths, still upright, in a line running east and west, enclosed by rude walls,

possibly of a temple. We came across an ancient rubbish heap containing objects of various periods —statuettes, pottery, scarabs, beads, amulets, etc. The site was especially rich in pottery illustrating the period prior to the invasion of the Hebrews.

Excavations were also conducted at three other mounds. At Tell-Zakarîya—probably the ancient Azekah—was uncovered a large fortress, possibly the work of Rehoboam, who fortified the towns of this district. At Tell-ej-Judeideh (unidentified) the city wall traced all around the summit was of Greek or Roman date, but an examination of the soil at different points within the enclosure resulted in considerable additions to our stock of Jewish pottery. Under the crop of Indian corn covering the summit of Tell-Sandahannah we traced the foundations of the little Greek town of Marissa which overlie the Jewish Mareshah. For a short period, before we were obliged to restore the ground to the state in which we found it, visitors could pass within the town wall by the gate-way, wander from street to street, make out the public buildings, and examine the courts and chambers of private dwellings. Seleucidan pottery was found in large quantities. The importance attached to malignant magic in the second and third centuries B.C. was illustrated by imprecatory tablets, and "revenge-dolls" consisting of small lead figures shackled with chains, and doubtless once named after enemies, who were supposed thereby to become the victims of similar tortures. Important among the features of the general campaign was the detailed examination by Mr. Macalister of numerous

examples of the subterranean rock-chambers with which the Shephelah is honey-combed.[1]

It is too early adequately to characterize the campaign of Abu Shusheh—the ancient Gezer—begun by Mr. Macalister in 1902, and only just closed at date of writing. From his reports we gather that the memoir of his work will yield in interest and importance to no other account of Palestine excavations. He has followed the fortunes of Gezer from dim antiquity down through the Maccabean period. The early Semitic High Place is far more elaborate than that discovered at Tell-es-Sâfi. The jar deposits prove that the inhabitants of this period sacrificed infants. The city walls with gates have been traced through several periods. A large Maccabean castle has been planned. Among the numerous objects discovered are two cuneiform tablets (fragments) of the seventh century B.C.

With this brief review of the work thus far completed by the first established and most practical of the organizations for the scientific examination of the Holy Land, we propose to close our sketch of the Development of Palestine Exploration. No different principles of research have been enunciated or illustrated in other quarters. To record the solid results of individual efforts along parallel lines during the last forty years is a task beyond our present purpose. Appropriate, however, it will be to append to this lecture a brief notice of other agencies organized with a view to the exploration of Palestine.

[1] Excavations in Palestine, 1898–1900, by F. J. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister. P. E. F.

The story of the short-lived American Palestine Exploration Society, organized in 1870 for the detailed Survey of Eastern Palestine, may be gathered from its four published statements (1871–77). Its failure to accomplish its purpose appears to have been due to lack of financial support, as well as to lack of harmony between the conductors of the Survey and the home committee. Relations with the English Fund were, however, perfectly friendly, as evidenced by a letter to the American Committee, written by the Archbishop of York, President of the older Society. Two Surveys of a preliminary nature were made: one by Lieutenant Steever in 1873; the other by Mr. J. C. Lane in 1875. With the second expedition Dr. Selah Merrill was associated as archæologist. In December of the same year he was placed in control of the exploration work. In his "East of the Jordan," which appears to be the only direct literary result of the Society's labor, are to be found the accounts of two out of four expeditions undertaken by him in 1875–77.

The German Society—Deutscher Palästina Verein—was definitely constituted on September 28, 1877, much on the lines of the English Fund. Accurate scientific research in all branches was contemplated by inviting the co-operation of German colonists, by urging travellers in Palestine to take an interest in certain definite questions, and by sending out especial expeditions. The first number of the *Zeitschrift*, the Society's journal, appeared in 1878. As an interpretative record of discoveries made in every department, whether by its own agents or by other indi-

viduals, this journal is indispensable to the Biblical student. Much exploring work has been done east of the Jordan, as attested by the maps published by the Society, based on the Surveys of Schumacher and Stübel, the geologist. Until recently, not much stress has been laid on digging. In 1880 Dr. Guthe made a series of trenches on Ophel and near the Pool of Siloam at Jerusalem. As I write, the excavations at Tell-el-Mutasellim (Megiddo), begun in 1903 by Drs. Benzinger and Schumacher, are still proceeding. These have already produced most important results. Toward these excavations the Emperor William contributed liberally. The excavations conducted for the Austrian Government by Dr. Sellin at the neighboring Taanach were closed in 1904. Among the finds here were several cuneiform tablets.[1]

In 1888–91 investigations were conducted for the Berlin Museum by Dr. von Luschan at the mound of Zenjirli, once a city in the land of Sham'al. The mound is near the northern limit of Syria, being situated just south of the Issus, about forty miles inland. The excavations laid bare an outer double wall, enclosing a nearly circular area. Within this area was the citadel, itself enclosed by a double wall. The sculptures of the gate-ways were Hittite in character. Here was found the famous stele of Esarhaddon, with an inscription of fifty-nine lines, recording his second Egyptian campaign. In the neighborhood of the mound was found a huge statue of the god Hadad, with the earliest known Aramaic in-

[1] See Ta'anek, by Dr. Sellin, describing the earlier excavations.

scription, dating from about 800 B.C. Other Aramaic inscriptions found in the mound itself were of great value in illustrating early Syrian civilization.[1]

At the Dominican convent of St. Stephen at Jerusalem there was established in 1890 "The Practical School of Biblical Studies" in connection with a Theological Faculty. The first number of the *Révue Biblique*, the organ of the School, appeared two years later, and has ever maintained a high level of critical learning. The exploring spirit of the Institution is illustrated by its programme, which includes an archæological promenade once a week, a day's excursion once a month, and three tours a year, lasting from one to three months, or even longer. Thus a band of ardent students, under scientific guidance, roams over the land from time to time, engaged in checking the reports of travellers, in recopying inscriptions, in reinvestigating sites which still have secrets to yield—in a word, in following up every available clew. Cordial interest is taken in the work of others by professors and pupils alike. It was ever a pleasure to welcome such enthusiasts to my excavation camps in Jerusalem and the Shephelah. The success of this French Institution should greatly encourage the two archæological schools recently founded at Jerusalem, the American School for Oriental Study and Research in Palestine (1900), and the German Evangelical Archæological Institute (1902).

The American Archæological Expedition to Syria conducted in 1899–1900 by Dr. Howard Crosby

[1] See von Luschan's memoir, Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli, 1893.

Butler, and financed by four American gentlemen, greatly supplemented de Vogüé's work in Northern Syria and the Haurân. Taking his itinerary for a basis, the party made frequent diversions from this, and were thus enabled to avail themselves of a great amount of fresh material. To give two examples: Of the sixty churches delineated, only ten appear on the plates of de Vogüé; of the four hundred Greek inscriptions copied, the majority have hitherto been unpublished. The results of the expedition are published by the Century Company in five parts. No more splendid work concerning Syria has ever been issued.[1] In 1904 Dr. Butler, with two of his colleagues, made a second expedition to Syria.

In the autumn of 1898 Emperor William of Germany visited Baalbec, and was so interested in the site that he later applied certain funds at his disposal to a complete excavation of the ruins. This work was begun in 1900 under the academic direction of Professor Puchstein and under the immediate superintendence of Messrs. Schultz and Krencker, architects. The object was to free the actual remains from the *débris* which covered the floor of the Temples to a great depth. It was found that the court of the large Temple had been used to protect an Arab settlement built within its walls. On clearing away these houses (after they had been properly planned) many lost details of the ancient shrine

[1] American Archæological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900. Part I. Topography and Itinerary (Garrett); Part II. Architecture and other Arts (Butler); Part III. Greek and Latin Inscriptions (Prentice); Part IV. Semitic Inscriptions (Littmann); Part V. Anthropology (Huxley).

appeared. Among these were two richly sculptured pools or tanks and a large altar of burnt sacrifice with ascending stairway. A splendid flight of steps leading up to the small Temple was also recovered.

LECTURE VIII

THE EXPLORATION OF THE FUTURE

In beginning this lecture it will be well for us to explain its title. Here is no definite prophecy concerning what the future explorer may bring to light. Here is no definite programme which he is advised to follow. The whole ground is by no means covered. But here is an attempt to point out in a general manner a few of the lines which exploration may be expected to take, together with the offer of a few practical hints based on personal experience. If I appear to over-emphasize certain phases, my excuse must be that these have come within my own range more closely than others.

The last lecture has failed of its purpose if it has not clearly indicated that the Palestinian Explorer of the future must be a specialist. The surface of Palestine is an open book whose main lessons have already been learned. With the Survey of Western Palestine an accomplished fact, and the Survey of Eastern Palestine a sure promise, exploration above ground will soon become restricted to the study of particular questions. Time was when any intelligent traveller of pluck and enterprise, breaking away from the beaten tracks, might chance upon unexpected discoveries on a large scale. To-day all this is changed. Though chance may bring him to another Moabite

Stone, no longer may he expect to come suddenly upon an unknown town. In seeking to add to the general stock of knowledge, he must enter Palestine with an especial purpose.

But while surface exploration must in the future confine itself to the elucidation of problems already stated, excavation has all the possibilities of an infant art. The *débris* of ages has only just begun to reveal its treasures. Scattered under the soil are countless "documents"—documents in stone, in metal, in earthen-ware—documents inscribed and uninscribed, but each waiting to tell its tale of the past. Of the hundreds of buried sites in Syria and Palestine, those in which excavation has been attempted on any large scale do not reach the number of twenty. The Exploration of the Future, thus, must be largely conducted underground. And here, too, the specialist alone may be trusted. Mistakes made by one surface explorer in reporting topographical features or in measuring unburied ruins have been rectified by another, but the unscientific excavator may do damage that can never be remedied. In cutting huge trial trenches through a mound, consisting of ruined mud-brick dwellings, he may make the easy mistake of failing to distinguish between fallen or decayed brick and brick *in situ*, and thus destroy forever parts of some important building hitherto preserved for thousands of years. When his scientific successor, excavating systematically, comes to this building, he will have to deplore the fact that no plan was made of the parts destroyed.

But before dwelling on the claims of excavation,

we may illustrate the nature of the problems demanding the attention of the surface explorer, by giving a detailed presentation of one of these which will serve to show how the specialist may still throw new light upon places often visited. An entirely new department of research was opened up by the "pottery-scale" of chronology, worked out by Petrie at Lachish and amplified by myself not only at that site, but at four others where I was associated with Mr. Macalister, who at date of writing is extending his studies still further in this line at Gezer. A minute examination of tens of thousands of potsherds and of numerous whole vessels, together with a record of the archæological levels in which they were found; a comparison of site with site; the proved association of certain local types with foreign imports, the chronological range of which is known—Mykenean, Phœnician, Cypriote, and Greek, or with styles copied from these—these investigations have resulted in a general chronological classification of the pottery of Palestine from the earliest times to the Roman period. We thus have a key to chronology indispenbsale at the numerous ruined sites whose remains are otherwise undateable.

This key has already fitted several locks. My decision to risk an expenditure of time and money on the excavation of Tell-Zakarîya and Tell-ej-Judeideh was based upon an hour's examination of the surface pottery upon each of these mounds, so denuded of visible remains that they formed fields for growing crops. Nor, as was subsequently proved, was I deceived in either case in the estimate thus

formed of the age of the sites. At Tell-Sandahannah the surface examination was supplemented by only two shafts to the rock before we determined to devote several weeks to its investigation. Our theory, formed on the pottery-data, that the civilization of the inhabitants had been Jewish before it was Greek, was fully confirmed later by other dateable objects exhumed by the spade. So accustomed we became to the association of certain types at a given archæological level, that we could guess beforehand what to expect. Thus, when a stratum revealed fragments of a certain sort of cooking-pot, tiny black jars, and long-footed ointment-vessels, we at once began to clean all broken-off jar-handles, knowing that our pains would be rewarded by the discovery of stamps bearing precious Hebrew inscriptions.

The knowledge gained from these studies in pottery will be useful in two ways. First, it will serve as a guide to others, as it has served to us, in the choice of sites to be excavated. Secondly, it may lead others, as it has led us, to reopening the discussion of such Biblical Identifications as have been based merely on the supposed survival of ancient town-names and on a general correspondence with indefinite topographical references. Petrie, bringing his pottery-key from Egypt, was able to disprove, almost at a single glance, an identification formerly accepted by many scholars. The site of Khurbet 'Ajlân had seemed to suit well enough what was known of the position of Eglon, and in the modern name was supposed to be heard an echo of the ancient. But Eglon

was a member of the Amorite league which included the neighboring town of Lachish. For many centuries the histories of the two places ran parallel. Their remains, then, should show the same characteristics. Those of Lachish—Tell-el-Hesy—rise to a height of sixty feet and contain pottery from an early pre-Israelite period almost to Seleucidan times. At the small site of Khurbet 'Ajlân, Petrie found but a very slight accumulation above the virgin soil strewn with Roman pottery. Eglon, then, must be sought for elsewhere, perhaps, as Petrie suggests, three miles south of Lachish at Tell-en-Nejîleh, where he found a large and lofty mound whose pottery indicated extreme antiquity and long-continued occupation. My application of the pottery-scale to Khurbet Shuweikeh, a site above the Valley of Elah, proved it to be late, thus confirming my suspicions that these slight remains could not be those of the city of Shocoh once fortified by Rehoboam. Robinson did an immense service in proving that the ancient nomenclature has so largely survived in the modern Arabic names. These are of the highest value as clews. But in some cases sites are known to have shifted. In the modern Shuweikeh we probably find a survival of the name Shocoh, which must be looked for in the vicinity, possibly, as I have suggested, at Tell-Zakarîya, which is either Azekah or Shocoh. The ancient name Mareshah clings to a small Roman ruin under the form of Mer'ash, three-quarters of a mile away from Tell-Sandahannah, which has been proved by excavation to be the site of the ancient town known to the Jews as Mareshah, to the Greeks as Marissa. But in at-

tempting a precise identification based on onomastic and topographical grounds, it is necessary to bear in mind that the remains must be commensurate in extent with what may be gathered from the historical references regarding the size of the ancient town to be identified; that these remains must show a depth of accumulation sufficient to account for its historical range, and that the indications of age furnished by the pottery must agree with the notices.

These indications are far more available to the surface explorer than is usually supposed. Every ruin is covered with potsherds, and much may be learned without excavation. The last occupation of Tell-ej-Judeideh seems to have been late Greek or early Roman, but the surface gives signs of a still earlier civilization. For, mingling with the prevailing late types of pottery which strew the top, are Jewish jar-handles, many of these having traces of Hebrew writing, which came to the existing surface when the foundations for the last occupation were laid, and which again saw the light of day when the ruined Tell was ploughed for cultivation. At Lachish, as we have mentioned before, the whole east side of the mound had been so undermined by the stream that Petrie found a vertical section of strata practically laid bare. By a little scraping he could study the pottery of a dozen centuries—climbing up and down the ages, as it were. At Ascalon the action of the waves has laid bare a similar section. In quarrying away the sea-cliff of Jebail, the modern inhabitants have exposed a section of the superimposed *débris*, full of fragments of "comb-faced" ware used by the Gib-

lites of pre-Israelite times. This same ware strews the slopes of Tell-el-Kady, the ancient Dan. In a valley south of Tell-Sandahannah we gathered hundreds of Rhodian jar-handles, stamped and inscribed in the second or third century B.C., which had been washed down by the rains from the mound. At many a mound we can find trenches and cuttings made by the fellahîn for the purpose of extracting stone. When these trenches pierce through the outer crust of the mound, formed by denudation from the top, the original stratification of pottery can be examined. By an analogy with the results of excavations at other sites, even from mounds which have been entirely undisturbed, much may be inferred by comparing the surface pottery with the amount of accumulation. A mound only ten feet high, which is characterized by Jewish pottery on the surface, probably represents the ruins of a town both built and abandoned in Jewish times. But Jewish pottery on the top of a mound thirty feet high indicates almost surely that the site was occupied in early pre-Israelite times. It may now be gathered what we mean by the phrase "a given archæological level." The term is entirely relative. Absolute level is no criterion of age. Thus a Jewish stratum, for example, may occur on the rock, as was proved at a small area excavated at Tell-Sandahannah; in the centre of the mound, as at Tell-es-Sâfi; or near the surface, as at Tell-el-Hesy. Though they occur at different levels, relative to the rock, these strata are archæologically identical. Great accumulation, of course, involves a long series of occupations, hence the lowest stratum

of a lofty mound must be early. Slight accumulation usually indicates only one period, but this may be of any age.

An important quest, then, for the explorer of the future will be a re-examination of certain identifications of ruins which were made before the criteria of which we have been speaking were available. Let us repeat that we refer particularly to sites where other chronological clews are lacking. At many a place the pottery-key is rendered superfluous by more distinctive indications of chronology: inscriptions, coins, architectural details, etc. In stating our belief in the dating power of pottery, we are aware of its limitations. That our deductions are broadly general is shown by our classifying the pre-Roman types in Palestine under four categories only—early pre-Israelite, late pre-Israelite, Jewish, and Seleucidan. How indefinite is the line of demarcation between class and class has been shown elsewhere by our explanation of the choice of nomenclature. But the power to make a broad generalization is better than the inability to make any generalization at all. To state with authority that one mound is exclusively Seleucidan and that another was deserted in pre-Israelite times is an immense advance upon the single description serving to cover them both: an ancient mound.

To the explorer who would examine the ruins of Palestine with the pottery-key we would give a few hints. In the first place, he must bear in mind that pottery alone cannot be expected to *establish* an identification. Its mission does not go beyond confirm-

ing or contradicting suggestions made on other grounds. And its negative proofs will be stronger than its positive proofs. Khurbet 'Ajlân, so declares the pottery, is not as old as Eglon. Therefore it cannot be Eglon. Tell-es-Sâfi, so declares the pottery, is as old as Gath. But on that account it is not necessarily Gath, though the general argument for the identification is thereby strengthened.

Again, in his search throughout the land, our explorer will find numerous potsherds of each period that might belong to any other. On the surface of some sites he may find no fragments determinative of date. The same clay is used from age to age. Certain simple shapes, designed to meet elementary and universal demands, are constantly recurrent. You may buy to-day in the Jerusalem market lamps of recent make which resemble the earliest Phœnician open types. The Roman and Byzantine lamps known to us are closed, but I do not dare affirm that the open lamp ever fell into disuse. But each age has types differentiated from those of all others by certain characteristics.[1] Among these we may mention the type of glaze or burnishing; peculiar surface markings; above all, some form of decoration. Thanks to the recent excavations, we now know how vessels were ornamented in pre-Israelite times.[2] Race-individuality is also shown in extraordinary shapes. The

[1] Some of the pottery found in our excavations is placed in the Constantinople Museum. The larger portion is arranged in a small Museum in the Government School at Jerusalem near Herod's Gate. Representative types of the different periods are figured on fifty plates in Excavations in Palestine, 1898–1900, by Bliss and Macalister.

[2] See Plates 36–44.

ledge-handle or wavy handle, stuck on to the side of a jar like a shelf, characterizes the earliest pre-Israelite ware in Palestine.[1] The form is found in pre-historic Egyptian ware. Was it brought from Syria to Egypt, or *vice versa?* That question has not been satisfactorily answered, but an early commercial connection between these lands is implied by the discovery of these bizarre types in both places. Our explorer will do well to look out for these unmistakable handles, which point to so high an antiquity. The *pseudamphora,* or false-necked jar, of the Mykeneans is a freak. It might be copied by contemporary races—doubtless it was—it never would be invented a second time.[2] It is found in Syria, and hence furnishes an important date-clew. Another important clew to age is found in inscribed pottery. As we have indicated above, jar-handles with Hebrew writing may be gathered from the surface. Some of these bear a symbol representing a beetle with four extended wings; on others the symbol takes the form of a winged disc. In both cases we find a dedication "To the King" and the name of a town, probably the seat of a Royal Pottery. Other handles show merely the name of the maker or potter. All, however, belong to a late Jewish period.[3] The Rhodian jar-handles with Greek inscriptions date from the second and third centuries B.C.[4] Tiles bearing the name of the tenth Roman legion are turned up at a slight depth in the outskirts of Jerusalem.[5]

So much for the nature of the problems awaiting

[1] Plates 23 and 26. [2] Plate 48; No. 17.
[3] Plate 56. [4] Plate 64.
[5] Excavations at Jerusalem (1894–97). Plate xxvii.

the surface-explorer. They are distinctly problems for specialists. An equally good illustration would have been a detailed statement of the need for a comparative study of the hundreds of tombs which the vandalism of the peasants has made available without further excavation. Renan began the study of tombs long ago. Mr. Macalister in the course of his excavations has made valuable contributions toward the subject. But it is very far from being exhausted. Leaving, then, the question of surface exploration, we come to the matter of excavation, which now looms so large before the would-be discoverer. We have, early in the lecture, disclaimed the idea of prophecy. This has danger even in its negative form. Twenty-five years ago prophecy would have refused to state that notable works of Art might be expected from Syrian soil. Twenty-five years ago prophecy would have denied the hope that cuneiform tablets would be unearthed in Palestine. And yet the soil of Sidon has yielded the exquisitely sculptured Sarcophagi, now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, and cuneiform tablets have been found at Lachish, Taanach, and Gezer. Bearing in mind the extraordinary historical vicissitudes to which Syria and Palestine have been subjected—lands once the highway for the armies of Assyria and Egypt; lands which again and again have passed with violent shock from one foreign master to another; lands that have been harried and ravaged and plundered as few other lands have been—bearing in mind the destructive climatic influences so strongly in contrast with the conditions of the

Nile Valley, where, for century after century, desert air and desert sand have preserved pigments in all their pristine brilliancy; bearing in mind the poverty of Syria and Palestine in pre-Roman days, as compared with Egypt on the one hand and Mesopotamia on the other; bearing in mind the actual results of excavations thus far—results interesting indeed and full of value, but, with very few exceptions, intrinsically poor in comparison with those from other lands; bearing in mind all these conditions, were I to prophesy, I would prophesy a continuation in the future of the experiences of the past—a gradual aggregation of small things from which large inferences may be drawn, rather than some sudden and startling revelation on a grand scale. But bearing in mind the exceptional surprises of the past, I prefer, in this matter of excavation, not to prophesy at all, but, as I have said before, to confine myself to the presentation of a few practical conditions which confront the excavator. And as, apart from such tombs as have escaped robbery in one age or another, the most valuable discoveries may be expected in the mounds, I shall speak with some minuteness of mound-structure.

Scattered over the surface of Syria and Palestine are numerous mounds or tells. Some counterfeit in appearance a natural hill; others, even to the ordinary observer, show their artificial nature; in the case of still others it is hard for the trained eye to determine the line between a real hill, once chosen as the site of a town, and the surmounting *débris*, consequent on its destruction.

The secret of a mound is very simple. From age to age the inhabitants of a given site have been ordinarily content to build on the ruins of their ancestors, without a rock foundation. To produce the height of a tell, men of successive ages have worked in unconscious bond. To produce the final symmetry, nature has lent its rains and winds. Construction and destruction have gone hand in hand. Love of the ancestral site; fire, war, and pillage; the desire for better buildings; natural decay and denudation—thus have contrary forces worked toward one final result: the formation of a mound that may be sown and reaped. A mound, thus, consists of a series of strata, each stratum representing an historical period. Sometimes the stratification remains clear and distinct; in other cases it has been disturbed. The most perfectly stratified mounds are those where the building material demands the minimum of disturbance of the underlying occupation, or, in other words, of the parts of the mound already formed when the foundations of the new occupation are laid. Such a material is sun-dried brick. Let us briefly follow through the ages the fortunes of a town built of this material.

The first inhabitants, having chosen a site, rear on the rock or the virgin soil their constructions of bricks formed of clay dried in the sun—usually made with straw. When the first occupation falls into ruins—through war, age, or temporary abandonment—the conditions are as follows: The lower portions of the walls remain *in situ*, but are surrounded and buried by the fallen upper portions, that is, by

precisely the same material as that of which they are made, and, what is more important, by precisely the same material as is to be used in the next construction. The rough platform thus formed furnishes a ready-made foundation. The second town rises on the ruins of the first with no necessary interference with its ground-plan. Moreover, the objects left in the ruins of the first town—vessels, weapons, tablets—are completely buried by the buildings of the second town, and thus remain intact forever, or at least till the excavator of future ages may discover them. This process may go on for centuries, until we have a perpendicular series of towns, as at Lachish, where, as already stated, the excavator was able to furnish partial plans of eight distinct occupations, covering a period of some twelve or fifteen centuries—plans where the walls in the various occupations are along different lines, are sharply distinguished in each case from those below, and do not interfere with these.[1]

In a mound where the accumulation, through the ages, is due to the successive erection and ruin of stone dwellings, the anatomical conditions are somewhat different. In the first place, given an equal lapse of time, the accumulation is by no means as great as in the case of a mud-brick mound. This is obviously due to the fact that in the former case, from age to age, the same material is easily available

[1] See A Mound of Many Cities. In each of the eight plans blank places appear where the buildings had been entirely ruined, but the remaining walls abundantly prove and illustrate the stratification.

for re-use. On the other hand, in a town built of mud-brick, when a wall falls, already partly disintegrated, it is left on the spot for further disintegration, and helps to make the mound grow. When a new town is built, fresh material is usually, though not always, brought from the outside.[1] Fallen stones, however, may readily be reshaped and re-used in a later age. Forming part of the new construction, they minimize the amount of new material to be imported. The excavations at Tell-es-Sâfi (presumably Gath) prove that the historical range of the town was even longer than that at Tell-el-Hesy (Lachish), but the latter site has a maximum of sixty feet of accumulation over against only thirty at the former. At Tell-es-Sâfi mud-brick is the exception, the main building material having always been stone.

In the second place, at such a mound the stratification is less distinct. Old lines of walling may be re-used without alteration. The ground-plan of one building is often interpenetrated with the foundations of a later construction. Thus reconstruction of a given stratum must be based upon a series of most careful deductions, and even then must be regarded as tentative. An example of this is found in the proposed reconstruction of the rude

[1] Dr. Hilprecht notes instances of re-use of clay at Nippur: "We know positively that earlier building remains were frequently razed to the ground by later generations, often enough for no other reason than to obtain building material, worked clay, as well as burnt bricks, for their own constructions, in the easiest and cheapest manner possible." Exploration in Bible Lands in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 541–2.

temple discovered at a depth of twenty feet at Tell-es-Sâfi.[1] Two plans appear side by side: one shows a confused mass of wallings; the other, one fairly symmetrical construction — the second plan being made simply by eliminating from the first such walls as various considerations suggested, if not proved to be later than the original temple. Again, important stone buildings, of whatever age, have to be founded upon the rock. Thus at Tell-Zakarîya the stratification was disturbed, though not destroyed, by a large fortress (built probably several centuries after the first settlers) whose massive walls, requiring a rock foundation, were sunk down through the remains of earlier times.[2]

Before leaving the question of mound-structure I may touch upon a thoughtless but popular misconception. It is often supposed that the winds play an important part in covering up ruins. A certain amount of shifting of the loose earth on the surface of any given site undoubtedly occurs, but that the amount of soil brought by the winds from a distance is inappreciable is proved at Tell-ej-Judeideh. Here

[1] See Excavations in Palestine, 1897–1900; Bliss and Macalister.

[2] Stratification over any large area is practically non-existent in the *débris* of ancient Jerusalem—which may be called a huge irregular mound, or a series of mounds—where the accumulation has constantly been disturbed by the erection, in every period, of important buildings requiring rock foundations. Note our phrase *over any large area.* In following the line of the south wall in our excavations, we were able to distinguish between various periods. At particular points, away from the wall, we could work out the chronological relations of superimposed and interpenetrating remains. But the reader must banish the idea that the data exist for the detailed reconstruction of any large section of ancient Jerusalem at any given period.

we have a long summit, only one-third of which was occupied. Along the unoccupied portion the rock crops up everywhere, often like a flat platform, clean and smooth. Had the accumulation on the occupied area been in any degree due to the winds, these would have acted in the same way on the other portions of the hill. The surfaces of mounds, deserted for centuries and never disturbed by the plough, are strewn with potsherds: had the winds played any part in the growth of a mound these would have been covered up long ago.

The above remarks have indicated, I hope, that the price of success in excavating a mound must be eternal vigilance. Every phenomenon should be accounted for. The buildings in each stratum should be isolated from the surrounding *débris*, and then exactly plotted and planned before they are removed, in order to make possible the examination of the underlying stratum. It is not sufficient to extract all the treasures the mound contains: the level and position of every object, however apparently unimportant, should be noted. Every basket of earth should be examined, lest a precious scarab or inscribed bead be thrown away. Every broken-off jar-handle should be scrutinized in the hope that it contain some stamp or inscription. Every tap of the pick should be directed with caution, lest some vase, preserved intact for ages, should be broken at the moment of discovery. In a word, the excavator should regard no phase of the work as too trivial for his personal attention.

As excavation in the Turkish Empire is theoreti-

cally impossible without a permit, it will be well to say a few words here concerning the Turkish Law regarding antiquities. Considerable ignorance prevails in regard to the attitude of the Porte toward archæology. This is often assumed to be one of hostility. The failure of a given explorer to obtain a permit to dig in some distant portion of the Empire is set down to a deep-rooted prejudice of the Turk, not only against science but against foreigners. Great injustice is done to the Turk in this matter. Foreigners are too apt to expect to act with *carte blanche* in Turkish territory and then to blame the authorities if anything goes wrong. Naturally the Porte exercises wariness in permitting a stranger of unknown antecedents to excavate in a disturbed district populated by suspicious tribes. The Occidental excavator may be a man of mere scholastic training, utterly unpractical, devoid of tact in dealing with native workmen of an alien religion, unused to desert life. Such a man may easily get into serious trouble, and, unable to go on with his work, will probably complain to his Government. And his Government will probably try to hold the Porte responsible. When the next man proposes to excavate in a similar district the Porte may be conceived, in diplomatic language, to reply "No." Additions to the Imperial Museum come too dear when purchased at the cost of possible international friction. On the other hand, if the excavator exercises tact, patience, and, above all, honesty, he may complete his campaign successfully, enrich the Constantinople Museum with antiquities, and, in consequence, become a *persona grata* to the

Porte. Hereafter he will find no difficulty in securing other permits.

The Turkish Law regarding antiquities is a document full of theoretic wisdom. The preservation of ancient remains, both above and below ground, is possible only upon the theory that these are inherently the exclusive property of the Government. Did this theory hold in England, the recent hue and cry as to the threatened destruction of Stonehenge would have been impossible. As a natural corollary to the proposition, the Turks hold that a man has no right to search for antiquities in his own land without a permit. This is in the direct interests of science. Left to himself, the discoverer of antiquities may destroy these or dispose of them in such a way that the knowledge of their *provenance*, which often greatly enhances their value, is lost. In antiquities accidentally discovered, the land-owner has a certain share, regulated by law. The objects he discovers by permission belong exclusively to the Government. A permit to excavate in the land of another or others carries with it no authority over such territory. Thus the rights of individuals are strictly guarded. Terms must be made by the excavator himself. In cases of dispute the Government may sometimes act as arbitrator, though this point is not covered by the law itself. The excavator must bind himself not to endanger sacred or military buildings. I have excavated in the lands of scores of people. In case of damage to crops I have always given compensation; sometimes I have paid "ground-rent." Difficulties in working about the Pool of Siloam vanished

when I agreed to build a new and better stairway down to the Pool, using the great stones I had excavated in the vicinity. In Jerusalem land-owners often begged me to excavate in their properties, encouraged by the discovery of ancient cisterns, or by the exhuming of valuable building materials in the land of their neighbors. In outlying districts, owing to the Turkish flag flying over the tent of the Imperial Commissioner (always accompanying the excavator, in order to take over the finds on the part of the Museum), our right to dig was unquestioned. When digging in arable land, we either restored the ground to its original condition, or paid the owner to restore it himself. An exception was made at Tell-el-Hesy, where I cut down one-third of the mound, but the area of cultivable soil was not diminished, though now appearing at two different levels.

Admirable as is the Turkish Law on excavation in theory, its strict enforcement is rendered impossible by various conditions. It seems to assume that the agents of the Museum are ubiquitous, or, rather, that the general officials of the Government can follow up and punish all cases of illicit digging. In a country so abounding in ancient remains as Turkey, a proper carrying out of the law would require a force of thousands of archæological police. The law deals not only with excavated objects but with the preservation of ruins above-ground. Yet in remote parts of the Empire noble monuments are destroyed for the purpose of obtaining building material before the authorities can check the vandalism. Thus the

splendid remains of 'Amman (Philadelphia) were already partly despoiled by the Circassian Colony before the Government stepped in. The search by the peasants for glass and other objects in ancient cemeteries abounding in the district of which Beit Jibrîn (Eleutheropolis) is the centre, begun many years ago, checked temporarily when we were working on the spot, was resumed after we left. In Galilee this grave-robbing has spread far and wide. The law, in fact, defeats its own purpose in one respect. Not only does the Museum lose the objects discovered, but Science cannot be sure where these came from. Antiquities may be bought in large quantities, but fear of exposure prevents the history of their discovery becoming known. Petty and illicit excavation is easy, while scientific excavation on a large scale is hampered by the tedious but necessary process of obtaining a permit. Application to the local Consul, transmission of the request to the Department of Public Instruction through the Embassy, agreement between this department and the Museum, correspondence with the local authorities for assurance that no local difficulties exist, the final authorization of the Sultan, the appointing of a Commissioner—at best these processes take almost a year, and it is not reasonably to be expected, at least by a novice, that they should take less. The would-be excavator, burning to ply the spade, is apt to feel that Consulates, Embassies, and the Sublime Porte exist chiefly to further his scientific designs. Personally I have little complaint against these various agencies in the expedition of the business with which I was

intrusted. In Egypt the obtaining of a permit is a much shorter affair. But then Egypt differs from Turkey both geographically and administratively. The Department of Antiquities is thoroughly organized; communication is easy; the population is unified; sites requiring excavations are, as a rule, unhampered by modern constructions.

Once having obtained his permit, the excavator who would avoid trouble will find his chief hope lying in strict conformity to Turkish Law. In Egypt the discoverer must turn over to the Museum at Cairo one-third of his finds, including all unique specimens; must promise to give one-third to foreign museums; and may keep the remaining third himself. This seems certainly to be more reasonable than the Ottoman law, which requires that all objects, including duplicates, be delivered to the Imperial Commissioner for the Museum. Temptations to evade the law will present themselves, but these should be steadfastly resisted. Hamdy Bey, Director-General of the Museum, has proved himself very generous in granting duplicates to those discoverers whom he has found worthy of his confidence. On the other hand, the excavator who is known successfully to have smuggled his finds out of the country will find it impossible to get another permit.

The explorer who would keep the Turkish Law regarding the antiquities he discovers may comfort himself with the knowledge that these will be well looked after if they reach Constantinople. Under the learned and artistic direction of Hamdy Bey and his brother and colleague, Khalîl Bey, the Imperial

Museum furnishes a generous and beautiful housing for antiquities. The explorer of whatever nationality may well be proud to see his finds placed here. Long may the Museum continue under such a *régime!*

Such, then, are some of the problems awaiting solution by the explorer of the land itself, above and below ground, as well as some of the conditions under which he must work. But exploration in the broad sense, as conceived by the founders of the Palestine Exploration Fund, includes an examination of the religious rites, of the social manners and customs of the modern inhabitants of the land. A scientific investigation in these fields demands immediate attention. If put off much longer it will be too late. The tide of Western civilization is passing over Syria and Palestine, gradually obliterating much that illustrates the past. This branch of inquiry has not been as thoroughly and systematically pursued as others have been, though its importance has been long recognized.[1] Even Thomson's "Land and the Book," rich as it is in the detailing of manners and customs, has left much to be done. Some years ago the Palestine Exploration Fund issued a series of questions regarding the various races and sects of the land, drawn up by specialists in folk-lore, and covering a variety of subjects—birth, marriage, death, religion, superstitions, government, land-tenure, etc. These were widely scattered, but thus far the returns have been meagre. Perhaps the best results are those embodied in the papers of Mr. Baldensperger, published from time to time in the Quarterly Statements of the Fund. As

[1] Rauwolf treated the subject carefully in 1575.

Bee-Keeper in the hills and valleys of Judea, he mingled freely with the peasants, living their daily life, enjoying their confidence. What he has done for the vicinity of Jerusalem should be accomplished at a hundred other points. But it is difficult to find the people to do it. Strangers to the land, however well equipped by previous knowledge, are hampered by lack of time, by an imperfect knowledge of the language, by the consequent uncertainties arising from the necessity for an interpreter, too eager to please his employer.[1] Resident foreigners are too busy. There are missionaries of many nationalities scattered through the land, who come in daily contact with the most interesting facts, but whose strenuous life prevents the daily and exact record which alone would give scientific value to all their observations. The same is true of other residents: doctors, merchants, consuls. The ordinary native is to be trusted only as far as his own particular sect or district is concerned, and even then is to be taken *cum grano salis.* The ideal investigator in these departments of knowledge would be a native graduate of the Syrian Protestant College at Beyrout, trained to observe acutely, to weigh evidence scientifically, to record his observations in a form at once systematic and dispassionate. To such a man I would recom-

[1] Interesting investigations in these lines, however, were recently pursued by the late Rev. Dr. S. I. Curtiss of McCormick Theological Seminary. Summer after summer he returned to Syria, always choosing new routes, availing himself of the experience of the missionaries, often joining them on their tours. In 1902 he published Primitive Semitic Religion To day, in which he attempted to prove the survival of early sacrificial ideas.

mend this quest, urging him to seek to find out the truth regarding his country rather than to glorify it, to treat the life of those of opposing faith with a candor he shows to his own, and, above all, to verify his alleged facts.

The urgency of this quest is due to two causes. The life of the country is being rapidly altered, not only by the bringing in of foreign influences by Europeans and by Americans, but also by the return of natives who have sojourned in other countries. Turn we to the first cause. This works both through industrial forces and through education. Foreign machinery is being imported which will drive out the time-honored hand labor. Our Consul at Beyrout was recently present at the inauguration of an American reaper. Other agricultural implements will follow. The natural products will be greatly increased. But the parable of the Sower will no longer be enacted on every plain, on every hill-side. Several American water wind-mills have been erected in Beyrout and the Lebanon. It is conceivable that in the near future these may replace the picturesque water-wheel. The chief interest of Hamath, noted by travellers from early times, will be destroyed. No longer will be heard the music of Naûras, each, as it turns on its axle, sending out a different note—in some cases a series of notes, a veritable *motif*,—no longer will bucket after bucket, on the circumference of these vast wheels, sometimes eighty feet in diameter, dip into the stream, rise again slowly, cast out its water, descend and rise again in stately revolution. Railway systems are rapidly increasing with

their tendencies to unify the land on the basis of modern civilization. In the winter of 1901–1902 the letters of a resident missionary in Râs Baalbec, a day's journey north of Baalbec, two days' journey from Beyrout, were full of descriptions of local customs, some of which were unknown to me. Since these letters were written, the shrieking engine pulls up at Râs Baalbec on its way from Hamath, and the train takes on passengers to Beyrout in a few hours. How much longer will Râs Baalbec, no longer isolated, continue to mirror the past, continue to be differentiated from other parts of Syria? The modern traveller, if so disposed, may find a billiard-table at Nazareth; he may dine at *table d'hôte* at Jericho; he may play roulette to the sound of an Italian band in a hotel on the heights of Lebanon; he may converse in French with the Sheikh of Palmyra. But the billiard-table, the Italian band, the broken French of Sheikh Mohammed, typify a state of transition which the student of folk-lore must regard with alarm.

The transforming power of education must also be counted as an agent working against the preservation of the old life. The influence of the foreign schools is far-reaching. The French led the way. They were followed by Americans, English, Italians, Germans, and more recently by Russians. Institutions also have been established by the local churches on foreign models. Beyrout boasts of four colleges. Two of these, the Syrian Protestant College (American) and the Jesuit University of St. Joseph (French), have medical departments. The Maronite College of Bishop Dibs and the Patriarchal College of the Greek

Catholics are under native control. The American College, with over seven hundred and fifty students, has its Commencement, its Field-Day, with all the usual athletic events, its Literary Societies, its Y. M. C. A., and its College Yell. Among its Syrian students, who still form the majority, though the numbers include Egyptians, Greeks, and Armenians, have been enrolled scions of princely Druse families and descendants of Khaled, the Sword of God, who conquered Syria for Mohammed. The distinction between peasant and noble is forgotten in a game of foot-ball. Native costumes, except in *negligé*, have yielded almost without exception to European dress. When its graduates desire to marry, their wives are chosen from the girls also educated in foreign institutions. But Beyrout is only the focus of the educational movement in Syria. It has spread all through Syria to Damascus, to the villages of the Lebanon, to Hums, to Hamath, to other cities of the coast. Palestine, too, has its numerous foreign schools, not only in Jerusalem, but scattered far and wide, and these, as in Syria, have stimulated education under local Turkish administration. The Government School for Moslem girls in Jerusalem was put under the charge of an American lady. While excavating near the small Moslem village of Zakarîya, I was pleased to yield up one of my juvenile workmen to the turbaned pedagogue on the ground that he had been the star of the local school: the influence of the Director of Public Instruction at Jerusalem was felt twenty miles away. Thus hundreds of young people of both sexes return every year from school to their homes

bringing with them new ideas which must lead to new habits and customs.

The second cause of change in the life of the land is found in the new ideas introduced by returned emigrants. In this temporary emigration the Lebanon led the way. Thousands of Lebanese are to be found in the United States, in South America, in Australia, in South Africa. The original impulse was simply one of trade. Genuine emigration was not contemplated: each voyager into the unknown hoped to return with a fortune. Many did thus return. By travelling from town to town with a pack on the back, peddling Oriental curiosities or cheap French wares, living cheap and selling dear, the formerly poorer inhabitants of the villages in the Cedar district were able often on their return to rival their once richer neighbors in the grandeur of their houses. Then "going to America" became the craze. Notwithstanding the difficulties placed in the way by the Government officials, alarmed lest agriculture in the mountains should suffer, every steamer to Marseilles was packed with men, women, and children. Gradually the impulse spread to Damascus, to Jerusalem, and to the cities of the coast. And not even now is it on the decrease. But there are signs that the character of the movement is altering: peddling has become overdone; large commercial houses have been established; many individuals are employed in factories or are pursuing some settled trade. While the love of the "water of their village," of its figs and grapes, is still strong within them, some are forced to take root in the United

States. Their children go to its public schools. I met a man at the Cedars who had returned for a wife, whom he was to take to his Kansas farm. At Jebail, the ancient Byblos, a man informed me that he was coachman to the Governor of Vermont. A popular local estimate which I have heard repeated in the Lebanon is this: a third of the emigrants settle in foreign lands, a third die, and a third return. It is interesting to remember how, from the cities at the foot of this same Lebanon, the Phœnicians sailed away to trade and ended by founding colonies.

Whatever may be the proportion of returned emigrants, these are sufficiently numerous to produce an impression on the mother country. Habituated to new ways of doing things, they regard the customs of their forefathers with a critical eye. In some cases they bring back with them children born in America to whom the old ways must seem strange. Both children and parents form a leaven which may leaven the whole lump.

Thus far the so-called emigration has been confined almost entirely to Christians. But there are signs that the voyage-germ has inoculated the Mohammedans as well. I have heard of several who are working in American factories. In the Winter of 1903 I travelled with two Mohammedan brothers, bound to seek their fortune in South America. It is significant that on arrival at Marseilles they exchanged the traditional fez for the despised hat.

The process of change varies, naturally, in different parts of the land. It is most rapid in the centres of

trade or of education, as in the large cities or in the Lebanon, where the reactionary forces of emigration are chiefly at work. It is less in evidence in the rural districts, where the population is homogeneously Mohammedan. Such a district is that between Gaza and Jaffa, between the Mediterranean and the Judean hills. And a precious district this is, embodying ancient Philistia and a part of Judea. But through this district must inevitably pass the railway which in the near future is bound to connect Egypt with Syria. Philistia—the highway of Egyptian invaders, the thorn in the side of Judea, the stronghold obstinately contested by Saracens and Crusaders—Philistia has led its daily life with little variation for four thousand years. Masters have come and masters have gone. One religion has replaced another. But probably the people have from age to age followed the same customs as they "sat down to eat and to drink and rose up to play." They are now threatened with a disturbing power stronger than any they have felt before; that they will have to catch a railway train is a suggestion pregnant with wonderful possibilities. Comparison of their own ways of eating and drinking and playing with those of others will be made easy. And comparison is the mother of change.

But even in the districts most touched in the daily life by foreign influences there are special occasions when the old costumes are brought out, the old customs are revived. On the summer feast-days the inhabitants of Bsherreh, Hasrûn, and other villages full of returned emigrants assemble at the grove of

the Cedars. Old chests have been ransacked for richly embroidered garments. The bride of twenty-five years ago reappears in her former finery. Sword-dancing, now seen so rarely, is practised under the stately trees. Each sect has its peculiar festivals where old customs may be studied. The student of folk-lore should make a list of these festivals and ascertain where they are celebrated with the greatest pomp. He should mingle with the crowds at some great Maronite convent during the week in August in which falls the Assumption of the Virgin. He should follow the Moslem procession on Thursday of the Greek Holy Week out from St. Stephen's Gate at Jerusalem, past the slopes of Olivet, dotted with scores of tents, over the barren hills of Judea to Neby Mûsa, the alleged tomb of Moses, where, for three days, peasants and nobles keep holiday. He should plan to arrive at Kubb Eliâs, on the plain of Coele-Syria, on the same week of another year, when a descendant of the Prophet, mounted on an Arab horse, rides over the prostrate bodies of a score of men lying side by side. He should also keep in touch with current events, ready at short notice to attend the enthronement of a Patriarch or the funeral of some great Druse Sheikh.

This question of the survival of the ancient life brings us back very close to the controlling motive of Palestine Exploration. Few explorers have not been pilgrims also. What traveller in the Holy Land with any historical imagination does not find this dominated by one Figure? At the foot of Her-

mon, around the Sea of Galilee, in the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, among the fertile valleys of Samaria, on the rocky hills of Judea, in the streets of Jerusalem, by the banks of the Jordan—wherever the traveller goes there this Figure glides before him. But clearer still is the Figure mirrored in the life of the people to-day, territorial descendants of those who lived in the land nineteen hundred years ago. Riding up the steep hills which mount westward from the Sea of Galilee, I met, one morning in Spring, a poor Arab walking beside a donkey which carried his sick wife. He called to me to stop; he seized my bridle: Did I know of one who healed at Tiberias? Was he wise? Was he kind? Would he cure the woman? And as I rode on toward Nazareth, having reassured the man, I fell to thinking that just such a scene might have been enacted on that very road in the days of Him in whose name the missionary doctor at Tiberias ministers to the suffering to-day. For down every road leading to the Sea of Galilee there flocked men and women bearing the sick, half in doubt, half in hope that One who healed, whom they knew only by hearsay, might be gracious to them also.



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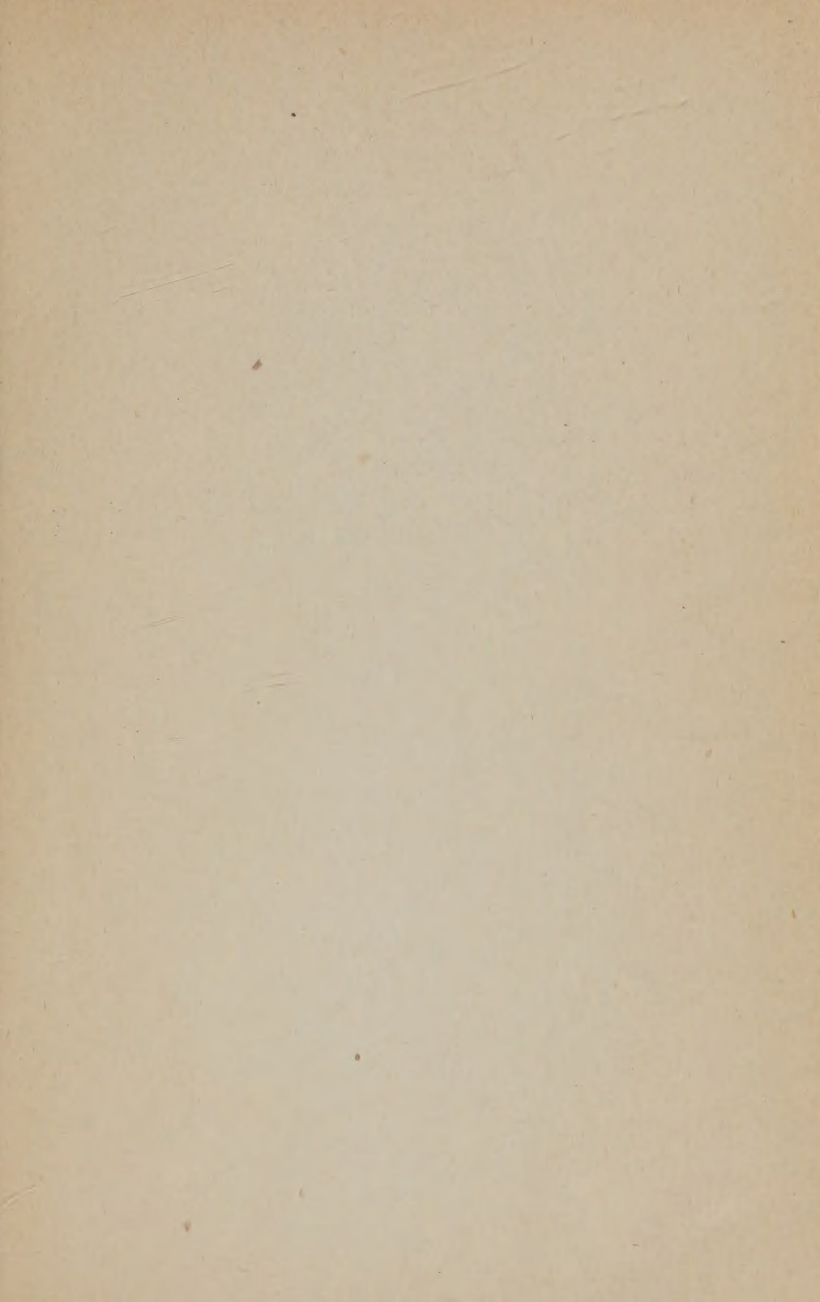
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